THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION VOLUME 1, NUMBER 6 NOVEMBER 1990
FREE

WORKS IN PROGRESS

Who's Building the DNR?

by Mark Bean

The construction industry provides, at best, insecure prospects for long term, continual employment. This is primarily because of the ebb and flow of the building economy. For a tradesman or woman to be employed year around for long periods of time is a feat accomplished by few. Most craftspeople in construction are part of a constant hiring and laying off, from job to job. Workers who work together on one job may not work together again for a long time, or maybe never again. The insecure nature of employment possibilities is a major cause of abuses to construction trades workers by employers.

As a journeyman carpenter and an organizer for the Carpenters Union, I witness examples of these abuses everyday. Because a construction worker is aware of the short-term duration of a project, it is likely they will do whatever the employer asks, just to maintain employment. This is generally the case on job sites in which employees do not have a collective bargaining agreement which insures some sort of protection from abuses and provided mechanisms to arbitrate grievances with an employer.

What are some of these abuses? And why? First of all, let us look at the primary motivation of the construction employer. He or she wants to make a profit. That is why they are in business. I'd like to be able to say that all employers believe in fair treatment of workers and the community's welfare as a part of doing business. The reality is many do not. The truth manifests itself on the job site in many ways: unsafe working conditions; non-compliance with wage and hour laws; demands to move or travel long distances to maintain employment with the company; use of a worker's own equipment for the employer's benefit; requiring an employee to license him/herself as a sub-contractor (freeing the employer from costly contributions to industrial insurance, unemployment insurance and withholding taxes; costs transferred to the worker); discrimination of all kinds; substandard wages (and cheating on prevailing wage laws) that undermine a community's economy; environmental damage; and creating an atmosphere of unhealthy competition between workers for the prized jobs (in itself a breeding ground for countless other abuses that come into play in which the employer plays no direct role, but certainly does indirectly) are but a few of the many ways a construction employer can abuse workers and communities. To the employer these practices are viewed as cost saving tactics that help to drive up the profit margin and "competitive edge" in an industry that is well known for its number of business failures.

K Jennings

Hensel Phelps in Olympia repeatedly asks construction work applicants, "Are you union?" Many times the field superintendent, Wynn Olson, has said, "We don't want anyone around here even thinking about union" . . .

These abuses boil down to exploitation of the workforce, although not as pronounced or blatant as in the early part of this century (due to the presence of laws and labor unions now). The practice of abuses to employees have become more sophisticated and devious by many construction employers. This can be attributed to relaxing of government statutes and policies that look out for workers' standards, the lack of proper funding to those agencies responsible for enforcing workplace issues, and the decline in the number of construction employers that are party to labor agreements with building trades unions.

Hensel Phelps and Its Workers

How does a company like Hensel Phelps Construction Company (HP) fit into a profile of an industry that is pre-programmed for exploitation of workers? The $73 million Natural Resources Building project in Olympia being built by HP with our state taxpayer dollars provides some examples.

Boomers: Hensel Phelps Style

The migration of construction workers to areas away from home, where work is plentiful and employment chances are greater, is called *booming* and these workers are known as *boomers*. This has been a part of this country's construction scene for decades. A traditional boomer chooses to travel for work out of economic or personal reasons, not by the dictates of any one company. Access to a locality's labor pool would be through a union membership card. It is an informal and usually fair system. It works this way. Through the boomer grapevine a worker finds out which areas are experiencing a building "boom", or some large project, that has depleted the local union hiring hall of "hands" or craftspeople. The boomer then elects to move to the new area, knowing employment possibilities are good since the local tradespeople are fully employed.

HP and many other firms like them have put a new twist to this time worn practice of booming. Because of their open shop (non-union) philosophy, computerized capabilities for monitoring their workforce, and desire to control their workforce as completely as possible, Hensel Phelps moves its workers around the whole country

(Continued on page 14)

Alexander Cockburn On Scams at Home Page 4
Stealing from the Mentally Ill Page 6, 7
Dave Jette on Elitism Page 8
Open Letter to Jesse Jackson Pages 9
An Interview with Jeff Paterson Page 10
Thurston County Ballot Issues Pg 14, 15
Olympia Peace Rally & March Page 16
Siege War in the Middle East Page 17

Letters

Credit Due

Dear WIP Editor:

While I am no fan of the Olympian's reportage, credit must be given where credit is due.

The letter from Local 443-AFSCME took an uncalled for shot at the Olympian in depicting the coverage of the Olander story as a "witch hunt". This reader disagrees with that characterization. Unlike most Olympian efforts at investigative journalism, the Olander story was reported with unusual depth, and presented well with steady follow-up pieces.

If the Olympian can be rightfully criticized, it is that the bright light placed on Olander has put into darkness other stories of greater import. The homeless problem in Thurston County, local corporate air/water polluters, and the surreptitious attempt by the Olympia City Council to impose a lid tax on small businesses are just some examples.

However poorly the Olympian has reported these stories does not negate the quality evident in the Olander story. Credit must be given where credit is due!

Andrew Wiesenfeld

Wetland-Saving Packet

Dear WIP,

We are the Paramount Park Neighborhood Group and this summer we appealed a development project in our neighborhood and won!

When we started out we knew absolutely nothing. Now that we've been through it, we'd like to share what we've learned with others who have found out about a wetland that needs saving but don't know how to go about it.

Our packet contains four single-spaced, typewritten pages of names of people, environmental organizations, government agencies, documents, manuals you should have, order forms, phone numbers, addresses, time and money-saving advice, and support. We've included copies of 1) the public notice of non-significance which received in the mail 2) our letter of appeal with neighbors' signatures 3) the Executive Order, Protection of Wetlands 4) sample flyer announcing a meeting of our group 5) one of five testimonials given at the hearing and 6) the flyer announcing celebration picnic and newspaper article about our successful action, Seattle Times, Sept. 10, 1990. There are 25 pages total protected in a folder.

We are asking for a $5 donation to cover costs and help provide funds to continue the work we've started. We know it's well worth the money to you. If you would like a copy of this packet please send a check for the above amount to Vicki Westberg, 1231 NE 148th, Seattle 98155. Include your address.

Thank you and best wishes for success,
Vicki Westberg 363-1231
Janet Way 365-4477

There Are Alternatives!

Dear Friends:

As I was reading the articles in the October issue of Works In Progress about your discussions with the Washington State Investment Board, I was reminded that this state really has no means of investing public money in Washington. As a result, it goes into large financial institutions and mega-sized corporations which invest a large amount of it outside of the state and outside of the country, often into environmentally damaging and/or socially irresponsible uses.

By creating public financial institutions, we can control public money (it is the public's money, after all, to be used for public purposes) before it is sent beyond the accountability of the citizens of this state. There are different ways of gaining control of public money so that it can be reinvested into the Washington economy: Linked deposit legislation; Public insurance corporations; Development corporations; Development banks and; State bank. Each of these exist in other states.

Reinvesting Washington public money back into the state can encourage community planning and control of the economy. Public financial institutions that reinvest public money back into the state will create jobs and income in Washington, improving the state's economy. If we are to avoid the kind of scenario that you have witnessed with the Washington State Investment Board's increased investment in an out-of-state, environmentally destructive corporation, we must regain control of public money.

Sincerely,
Terry Fernsler

P.S. Who says that a "prudent person" will exclude long term benefits from an investment portfolio? Many investors make decisions based on their long-term interests. Further, many corporate balance sheets exclude hidden costs, known as "externalities" because they are not included on the corporate balance sheet. These costs are, however borne by all, including the corporation's investors. When a public entity invests in a corporation which does environmental, or even economic damage, for which the public entity must pay, is that entity really receiving the greatest return for its total investment? Perhaps the narrow definition the WSIB gives "prudent person" could be challenged. After all, the law is supposed to reflect changes in mores that come with increased knowledge.

Editors' Note: The Washington State Investment Board will have their next quarterly meeting on Nov 12. We have when and where on the back page along with a map on how to get there. Please plan to attend, it's your money!

WORKS IN PROGRESS BOARD

Dave Campbell, Lon Freeman, Tom Freeman, Kendra Jennings, Teresa Jennings, Chris Jordan, Matt Love, Marie Smith, Sylvia Smith, Patrick Tassoni, and Al Zimmerman.

Defend Jeff Paterson

Dear friends:

Jeff Paterson is the first active duty GI resister to U.S. aggression in the Middle East. He is also its first political prisoner. The Marine Corps has done everything to silence him during a critical time in his defense and in their war efforts. News however has reached significant numbers of people, thanks to efforts of people like yourselves.

Jeff's case is currently at a critical junction. The decisions are being made now on how to carry out the Court Martial and on the response to his Conscientious Objector application. The case is legally winnable, but the government has made it abundantly clear that their decision will be a political one.

It will be a big defeat to the U.S. War Machine if they are not able to win on their case against Jeff. A victory in Jeff's case will certainly embolden and strengthen all resistance to the war, and particularly resistance among the millions who will have to fight and die in such a war.

Mari Matsuoka

U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf/
Cmt to Defend Jeff Paterson
c/o Eric A. Seitz, Esq.
820 Mililani Street, Suite 714
Honolulu, HI 96813
(808) 533-7434

Considering The Possibilities

Dear Compatriots:

I was in the third grade when President Kennedy was shot and killed November 22, 1963. It was strange to realize that a person could be there one day and gone the next and I was most impressed by the strong emotions of all the adults.

Murder was not a common event in those days, at least not in Washington State. People left their doors unlocked and walked the streets at night without fear, but now, things were going to change. Assassination of political leaders again and again in the next few years. Often by people who were said to be mentally ill, commies or both and, conveniently for the prosecution, kept diaries.

People, many people around me as I was growing up, came to believe that hand guns should be banned or, at the very least, controlled. I thought that maybe this was true, but I wasn't sure.

My family, in the late 40's and 50's, learned that the government was not necessarily to be trusted. Through personal and witnessed events, the government was quite capable of destroying individuals and families financially, physically, and emotionally. For many, the only escape was to become unknown, to blend in and hide. Assimilation, to say things alien to belief for mere survival.

Since and before those days, the government has proved in many other ways it's potential for abuse. It has and always will be a potential agent of harm to the peoples of this country. And because of this point, I have long believed that gun control in this country is not and must not be an issue supported by the progressives, by people of color, by the working class, by gays and lesbians, by the differently-able, by women, by Vietnam Vets.

I do not advocate violence. I do not own a gun. However, should we begin to control or ban fire arms in this country, the government will become that much more capable of controlling the population and less sensitive to needs of the people. (In Israel, the difference between the impoverished Palestinian population throwing rocks and the government troops firing bullets is an obvious example.)

Just as with the Drug War, the solution of murders by guns is not the banning of guns. It is the healing of our hate for each other and ourselves.

In conclusion, I wonder who would be supporting gun control if the political leaders assassinated had not been left of center or if no political leaders had been assassinated at all? I ask you to consider this issue in its entirety.

Respectfully,
Sylvia Smith

In This Issue . . .

Take the time to vote - Tuesday, November 6th. Polls will be open from 7 a.m. - 8 p.m. We focus in this issue on three ballot issues: Proposition 1 which is the long awaited city/county charter; Proposition 21 - funding for county purchase of environmentally sensitive lands and open space; and Congresswoman Jolene Unsoeld's bid for re-election in the 3rd district.

An exclusive interview with Jeff Paterson plus a letter he wrote to his father comprises the centerpiece in this issue. Paterson is the first marine to actively resist "duty" in Saudi Arabia. The interview was conducted by Tom Freeman on KAOS radio. Also, Ron Jacobs provides an inside look at the recent Olympia protest against the U.S. mid-east policy. Helena Meyer-Knapp argues that the conflict is best described as a "siege"; that desperate measures that will inevitably be required. Alexander Cockburn studies the situation from a standpoint of "scams and red herrings."

Rep. Henry Gonzalez (D-Texas) points out yet another rich versus poor polarity in paying Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation costs to maintain safe investment for the wealthy.

Another national scandal is exposed by Dr. E. Fuller Torrey who looks at Community Mental Health centers and what they did with their money. Locally, a tragic personal account about mental illness and the struggle to help a person in need is told by George Makuh.

The Washington State Rainbow Coalition (WSRC) continues to demand a certain amount of ink - a certain amount of press. Dave Jette, WSRC's ex-corresponding secretary and WIP columnist, differentiates between traditional hierarchy and grass-roots democracy within organizations. Dialogue is the name of the game, and we're part of it. TCRC responds to WSRC restrictions preventing access to Coalition mailing labels. On the national level, Jesse Jackson hears some words from four national Rainbow Coalition leaders on his support of U.S. policy in the middle-east.

Holidays are on their way. Show your friends that you care. Increase the circulation of progressive thought and activism. Send gift subscriptions to Works In Progress. It costs only $20.00 for 12 issues. So you don't forget, order before midnight tomorrow. We need your continued financial support to exist. Remember us over the holidays in your wills, lottery winnings, stock splits and capital gains. Keep those cards and letters comin'! Correspondence and articles are welcome. Send submissions to Works In Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507. Works In Progress is a community newspaper sponsored by the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the TCRC or its editorial board.

Keep Hope Alive!

Teresa Jennings & Tom Freeman for the Editorial Board.

1-800 Number Disconnected

Dear W.I.P.

Good job all around! thanks for getting those stories out that nobody else seems to cover . . . Could it be they are scared? Nah.

By the By, the 1-800 # you gave for legislators, congress, etc. has been disconnected, and no further information will be given . . . Interesting, eh?

Rock on, and how 'bout an article on hemp/marijuana and the sinister connections DuPont has with making it illegal. I'll supply info, maybe even an article?!

Thanks!!

Becka Smith

Editors' note: Becka, thanks for the info on the 1-800 number. The night before the October issue went to press, we tested it to make sure it was still in service. Very interesting.
Absolutely, write that article and send it in! Deadline for the next issue is November 17th.

Spreading the Words

Dear Sir or Madam:

I sent your article about an appeal to celibate priests to the Washington Women United. I thought they could be of assistance in your efforts. You are probably aware that many of our priests and bishops are gay which may account for their zealous attitude against intimacy between men and women.

Sincerely yours,
Milford R. Liffew
Jean Olvera

Editors' note: Milford and Jean, we have much appreciation for your interest and efforts about Catholic bishops' "zealous attitude against intimacy". We ask that you consider the roles that sexism and hierarchy play in this issue. In our opinion, Gays and Lesbians are among the victimized.
Thanks for the dialogue and we hope to hear from you again.

Bishops' Aggression Has Escalated

Dear Friend in Media :

Last January I wrote an open appeal to celibate bishops, to please refrain from efforts at dictating PUBLIC policies of sexual/reproductive ethics-since their vow, training, experience and responsibility categorically disqualified them. Last month the editors of a paper in Washington State saw it and requested permission to publish it.

Have you been reading reports of how their aggression has instead escalated:

*INVADED our major labor union's national board, threatening dire consequences if it dared to support reproductive rights for its women members;

*INUNDATED our national attorneys' (bar) association, helping pressure it into revoking its own previous pro-choice policy;

*HIRED one of Madison Avenue's largest PR firms for $5 million, to brainwash the public against reproductive privacy;

*ATTACKED, DISOWNED numerous elected public officials who dared to disagree with bishops on reproductive choice;

*earlier, TORPEDOED our county AIDS project for preventive education, because of their condomphobia;

*cruelly REJECTING and verbally bashing gays as "immoral, evil" etc. (terms which in any other context would qualify as "hate" words provoking violence);

*almost SCUTTLING our model high school counseling service for helping troubled youths identify and handle their sexual orientation;

*LEADING and coaching anti-choice demonstration pickets in blocking birth-control clinics from their patients;

*BOASTING now that they have written to every judge and prosecutor in our state, to cancel or reduce sentences of all convicted clinic-blockers;

*and yesterday, JUDGE dismisses first case when one juror later defected from unanimous verdict, " because I could never convict a priest";

*local ARCHBISHOP admittedly defies NLRB order to recognize his own grave-diggers' chosen union, unless it signs an anti-abortion contract;

*MOST ironically, PERENNIALLY oppose every scientific reality-based PUBLIC program attempting to PREVENT irresponsible sex, pregnancy and disease!

Celibacy like fasting and dietary customs, is a very PERSONAL spiritual discipline which right I defend and respect -- SO LONG as its truncated reality is not the value-base from which PUBLIC sexual/reproductive policies are derived. SO, as a personal discipline, it is a matter between a priest and his church, NOT subject to a PUBLIC vote.

YET, how many acres of newscopy and days on the tube last month were devoted to tabloidal titillating, ratings-busting, discussions of WHETHER clergy should -- or could -- remain celibate!

YET not one ever got within a mile of the IRRELEVANCE of clerical celibacy to all the REAL problems of sexual and reproductive freedom/responsibility in the 21st century, especially the ETHICS of an absentee sexology making PUBLIC policy!

How do the media explain such a conspiracy of silence which precludes any HONEST dialogue on THIS topic, when they discuss EVERY thing else except "classified"?

Isn't it utterly amazing that one profession which chooses (?) a sexless, childless lifestyle for ITSELF, is obviously exercising such power over everybody else's genitalia - and even the media too cowered to question assumption/presumptions!

PS - NO! I am emphatically NOT anti-Catholic, anti-clerical, anti-celibacy, and NOT into paranoia or ad hominems. My professional ecumenical leadership since Vatican II attests that I am "none of the above".

Garnett E. Phibbs
Los Angeles

ARCHBISHOP admittedly defies NLRB order to recognize his own grave-diggers' chosen union, unless it signs an anti-abortion contract;

Bachelor Rabbi's Credentials "Frozen"

Mordechai Eliahu, Israel's chief Sephardic rabbi, has "frozen" the credentials of Rabbi Yascov Avitan, contending that the 20-year-old bachelor must gain the "experience of marital relations" before assuming the spiritual leadership of Beit Shikma, a farming town of 1,000 in southern Israel. According to Shmuel Zaafrani, a rabbinate spikesman, giving married couples advice about sexual matters is one of a rabbi's duties, and "to do this, he has to know these matters from up close. A doctor who hasn't done an internship would never be allowed to treat any patients."

Avitan said he agreed with Eliahu's decision and "will wait patiently until my match comes from heaven."

Reprinted from the The Christian Century.

Scams and Red Herrings

by Alexander Cockburn

If war is a continuation of politics by other means, it also dramatically displays the class system in a manner antipathetic to peacetime politics. Rich men start wars and poor people fight them. After a week of saber rattling by the British government about the likelihood of war in the Persian Gulf by Christmas, there came, on Tuesday, October 2, details of the budget deal hatched in Congress. Toss the colossal red herring of the fight over capital gains to one side, and the outlines of another familiar bipartisan plot to shaft the moderate wage earner loom into view. Red herring? The Democrats, virtuously mopping the sweat of combat from their brows, claim they beat back Bush's drive to lower the capital gains tax. But it was always somewhat of a sham battle. A week before the settlement Business Week told its readers to stop fussing. Now, amid a welter of tax concessions to insurance companies and other familiar special interests, the Democrats can tell voters that they fought the good fight and won.

I saw a G.I. in Saudi Arabia say he thought he and his fellows are there to knock a few cents off the price of gas at the pump. Better in that case he heads back to Capitol Hill . . . and shoves his gun into the faces of those . . . who urge a 12 cents a gallon tax increase at the very gas pumps he thinks he is defending.

The people on the losing end of the proposed package are those already bruised by the rising gas prices, among them the families of soldiers who would be dying in any war. On television recently I saw a G.I. in Saudi Arabia say he thought he and his fellows are there to knock a few cents off the price of gas at the pump. Better in that case he heads back to Capitol Hill or to the editorial offices of the New York Times and shoves his gun into the faces of those politicians and pundits who urge a 12 cents a gallon tax increase at the very gas pumps he thinks he is defending.

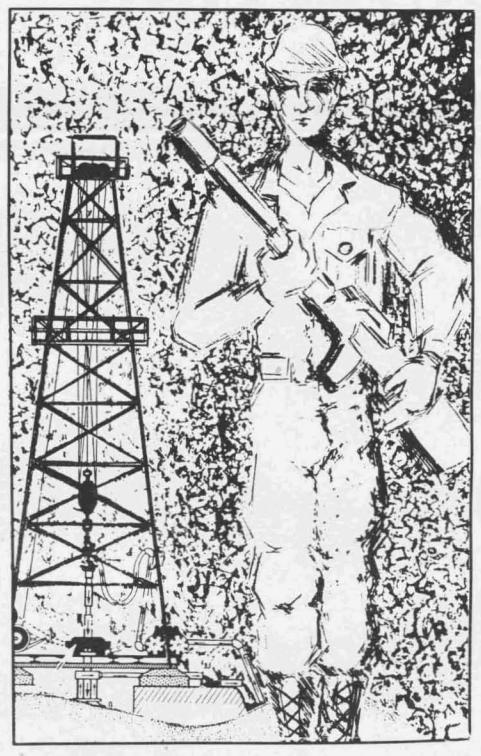
On Monday morning, October 1, the day Bush addressed the U. N. General Assembly, I was a mile away in Rockefeller Center discussing the Gulf crisis in a taping of the show. In an hour long, highly critical examination of Bush's policy from Ralph Nader, Richard Barnet and myself, not a single member of the studio audience called for war. This was a crowd of about 200 people from around the country. The loudest cheers came in reponse to Nader, who charged that the people doing well out of the crisis are the oil companies, the arms manufacturers and the big agricultural and commercial interests who had been urging appeasement of Saddam before the invasion. How is it that when there's now only a 2.6 percent supply drop in world oil, its price has gone up 100 percent? Why, when the price of oil in the United States is soaring, are U.S. oil companies exporting oil to Europe? (Answer: Prices are higher there.)

As the Bush government blows hot and cold in the war of nerves with Iraq, it must know well how frail domestic support is for anything beyond the present sanctions mandate of the U. N. The very thorough poll conducted for Americans Talk Security between September 21 and September 26 showed that only one in ten Americans is prepared for war now. Nearly half the thousand people surveyed thought that if their government launched a war, it would lie to them and claim the Iraqis started it. This is scarcely the firm roadbed of public resolve along which Bush can roll his tanks into Kuwait or Iraq, particularly when Saudis like the teacher interviewed by James LeMoyne of the are so tactless to say, "In a way, the American soldiers are a new kind of foreign worker here. We have Pakistanis driving taxis and now we have Americans defending us."

Kuwait is becoming the world's first offshore county. It has all the pleasing elements of nationhood and none of the troublesome ties. After all, what does one need, beyond a hotel to house the offshore people (in Kuwait's case the Sabah clan, now shacked up in Saudi Arabia), an offshore airline, an offshore Olympic team, a seat in the United Nations, a public relations firm in Washington (Hill & Knowlton) and, above all, an investment trust with at least $100 billion in assets based in London?

Hitherto its been thought tasteless to opt for overt offshore nationhood. Although the Shah spent most of his time in Gstaad and the Saudi princes prefer Marbella to the desert sands, there was still a pretense that home was in Teheran or Riyadh. With the internationalization of capital, corporations owe loyalty to no one and will seek out the cheapest labor and most beneficial tax codes available. Emblems of the state such as presidents and prime ministers have long since relinquished any supervision or regulation of these corporations. There merely perform the necessary function of levying heavier and heavier taxes on the onshore natives. Now the state is scampering on the heels of the offshore corporation.

State leaders spend increasingly large chunks of time beyond their national jurisdiction, mustering shoulder to shoulder for world-leader team photos which are remitted home to remind the onshore peons that they are part of the world "community" or, these days, New World Order. The excuses for these conclaves go far beyond the point of parody. The get-together in Manhattan organized by Unicef and dedicated to the future of the child has a peculiarly demented quality. Strutting up and down the corridors of the U.N. were leaders of governments whose economic policies are already killing millions of children and will exterminate millions more in the years to come. The chasm between rhetorical pretense and skinflint reality was nicely represented in two editorials, one on top of the other, on October 2. The one at the foot of the page, boldly titled, "Now, Keep the Promises to Children," addressed itself to the Unicef conference and its goals: "'Reaching these goals could cost as much as $20 billion a year.' That's a daunting sum, especially in strained economic times. But if children are the future, then the cost of not trying to achieve the goals could be far greater."



Perched above these impeccable sentiments was another editorial, "Mr. Dinkin's Grim Pay Precedent," which warned, "With tax revenues falling and the economy continuing to worsen, New York City can ill afford the Dinkins administration's proposed 5.5 percent pay increase for the city's teachers' union." Multiply that attitude a few thousand times and you get to the worldful of wretched children we have today. At the Unicef conference the world leaders notably failed to match any money to their high promises.

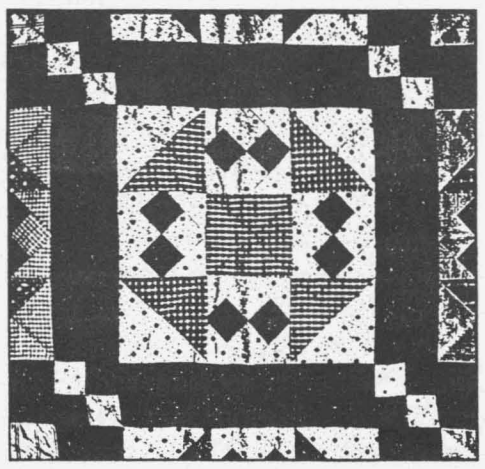
As a useful introduction to the history of onshore Kuwait, readers might hunt up a slim volume called ard of the Gulfansfield, ready for publication just before the invasion by Hutchinson, a British subsidiary of Random House. Back in July, Alberto Vitale, head of Random House, went to London to attend a sales conference of the Random Century Group, which includes Hutchinson. Hutchinson had available two books about Iraq and Kuwait. One, Republic of Fear, by an Iraqi pseudonymously known as Samir al-Khali, did not apparently excite Vitale. His enthusiasm was reserved for Kuwait: Vanguard of the Gulf–aside from Mansfield's aimiable account of the emirate — the allure of a guaranteed purchase of several thousand copies by the government of Kuwait.

Clapping executives of Random Century on the back and counseling them to aim for more of this type of publishing, Vitale returned to New York. Saddam forthwith launched his invasion, thus annulling the promised bulk purchase of the book, priced at £14.99, which now jammed the warehouse. Belatedly, Vitale's attention shifted to al-Khalil's Republic of Rear, a savage portrait of Iraq under Saddam. U.S. rights had been bought by University of California Press, which had sold the paperback rights to Pantheon, ironically part of the Random House group, for a tidy sum.

Scanning Republic of Rear, Vitale found it excessively scholarly and lacking the color and punch that a Judith Krantz or Jacqueline Susann might have brought to the theme. He announced to the folks at Random Century that he was summoning to England a fine writer who would work with al-Khalil to produce a version of Republic of Fear more accessible to the common man. Judith Miller, a former York Times correspondent and then the deputy editor of the Times media column, duly clambered off the plane at Heathrow, only to be told by al-Khalil that he did not care to partake in this refashioning of his work. No problem, said Miller; she would stay up all night and by dawn descend with the synopsis of an entirely new work on Iraq on which they could collaborate. She went about her business, but when dawn came al-Khalil examined the fruit of her labors and exclaimed that this was indeed nothing but a remake of Republic of Fear. Exclaiming in her turn that she was not just a rewrite girl, Miller swept off.

On September 7 the carried a media item headlined "Crisis in Iraq Inspires Spate of Books." The story by Roger Cohen underneath this energetic headline — while Miller was still deputy editor of the media page — showed that, as a word meaning something resembling a torrent, "spate" has come down in the world, here connoting just two books. One was Republic of Fear and the other a quickie to be put out by Times Books, an imprint of Random House, by none other than

(Continued on next page.)



Patchworks

Jolene Unsoeld
The Only Choice on November 6th

by Thomas Mitchell Freeman

Congresswoman Jolene Unsoeld's actions to protect the manufacturing of certain domestically produced weapons in the United States has been the cause of a great deal of ink lately, much of it critical. The crux of this criticism, a smear campaign brought forth by her opponent, centers on the contention that Jolene supported gun control until the middle of September and then, in a one-day flip/flop, introduced her gun manufacturing amendment in return for a check from the *National Rifle Association*. While this characterization provides for interesting drama in print it is patently false and a disservice to Jolene's integrity and hard work. Furthermore, as it is potentially damaging to her re-election campaign, it is an example of the media at its worst.

In his excellent book, *The Media Monopoly*, Ben Bagdikian asserts that while the media doesn't tell us what to think, it certainly tells us what to think *about*.. It frames the debate and determines - for the public - what topics are important while ignoring those that don't serve it's interest, namely the selling of newspapers, magazines, etc. In the 3rd district race, our media has overwhelmingly ignored substantive positions on issues and comparisons between the candidates and focuses their attention to petty character assassination and lies. Mike Oakland, *The Olympian's* political reporter carries the Bob Williams banner by asserting that Jolene did a "flip/flop" on the gun issue and suggests that it may cost her the election. Oakland neglects to report the facts completely and fairly. Jolene wrote a letter on July 31, 1989 [see page 20], stating unequivocally, that she supports the rights of responsible citizens to bear arms. A constituent wrote to Jolene in March 1990, after reading about her gun position in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*. The charges of a "flip/flop" originated within the Williams campaign. Rather than investigating the accusations, Oakland accepts the opposition's characterization as truth and runs with the story.

The Olympian has been utterly deficient in reporting what Jolene's positions are, what she has done in Congress, or crediting her for legislation she's introduced. One of their editorials praised Congress for pushing a ban on drift-net fishing, which is vital for protection of dolphins, porpoises and other marine life. Although it was Jolene's bill, *The Olympian* made no effort to credit or congratulate her. [The bill has just passed.] When national columnist Ellen Goodman wrote an article after the 1988 election about newly elected women in Congress, *The Olympian* cut all references about Jolene from the piece. When asked why, they replied, "we assume people know she was elected." They pay attention only when dramatic, confrontational controversy is ensuring, such as the simplistically framed logger versus owl debate this summer. To obtain substantive news about Jolene and what she is doing for this district, constituents must regularly rely on Seattle, Tacoma, Portland or Aberdeen newspapers. I consider *The Olympian's* actions to be a pattern of inexcusable malfeasance and neglect. Had they regularly provided information about her, the constituents in this district would not have been caught by surprise regarding her views on gun legislation. Seattleites knew about her views last February and March.

Ultimately we must decide for ourselves how we will obtain information on Jolene and her opponent. If we hope to make a well-informed choice on November 6th, we cannot empower *The Olympian* or other major media with defining who Jolene is or interpreting her voting record. The media have already demonstrated their inability to do so accurately, fairly, or consistently.

When national columnist Ellen Goodman wrote an article after the 1988 election about newly elected women in Congress, The Olympian cut all references about Jolene from the piece.

And while I'm on the subject, let me suggest an analogy to those Jolene supporters who are angry or disappointed by her gun position. Often, throughout our lives, we disagree or become angry with friends because of something they've said or done. Conflict and disagreement can be a healthy expression of self. Often, our most enduring friendships are with people with whom we've had near knock-down, drag-out philosophical battles. Yet they are our friends! Why then, do we expect our representatives to agree with us in every circumstance and on every issue? Unlike her opponent, Jolene is our friend. We can open a dialogue with her about the complexities surrounding the gun issue. Meanwhile, let us not forget what Jolene stands and fights for each and every day in that "other Washington." Since it is often difficult, if not impossible to obtain information in the press about Jolene's positions, I will highlight them here. On all of these issues, Bob Williams is on the opposite side.

Jolene supports funding for prenatal care, early childhood education, child care, compensating victims of sexual assault, lifeline telephone service for seniors, housing assistance for low-income citizens, a national health care plan for all citizens, and women's health clinics. She unequivocally supports reproductive rights and access to safe health care for all women facing choice issues, regardless of income. Jolene led the fight to prohibit export of unfinished logs to Japan thereby ensuring that jobs will remain in the hard-hit timber towns. She is backing sustainable forest management. Jolene has fought for clean water funding, toxic clean-up land spill prevention, a clean air bill, a recycling program for auto and truck tires, citizen involvement in growth management, and a ban on off-shore oil drilling.

Jolene has opposed the MX missile, Star Wars, B1 and B2 bombers and has fought against attempts to strengthen presidential authority to engage in covert intelligence and war activities.

Labor organizations rate Jolene nearly 100 per cent on issues related to worker welfare, benefits, safe working conditions, right-to-know laws, 60 day plant closure pre-notification and strengthening of collective bargaining.

The list goes on. We have a choice to make. We need to ask ourselves, whether we want a woman in Congress who, while not always right, overwhelmingly represents our issues, concerns and values; one who fights for education, health, welfare and protection of first amendment rights of free expression. Do we want a Congresswoman who works with the most powerful leader in Congress, Speaker of the House Tom Foley, to promote and advance the interests of our state and district? Or do we want another typical right-wing male, propped up by elements of the religious right, who has been anti civil-rights, opposed observance of Martin Luther King Day, criticized Governor Gardner for forbidding discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in state hiring and who is vehemently anti-choice in one of the most fundamental private decisions in a woman's life, whether or not to carry a pregnancy to term? If Bob Williams wins the election, the 3rd congressional district will be virtually cut-off from the leadership in Congress.

Vote for Jolene Unsoeld on Tuesday, November 6th. Congresswoman Jolene Unsoeld is endorsed by the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition. For more information, or to volunteer, call her campaign headquarters at 357-7007.

Tom Freeman is an editorial board member for Works in Progress and a graduate student in Public Administration at The Evergreen State College. His column appears monthly in Works in Progress and he urges everybody to send multiple gift subscriptions for the holidays.

(Scams, continued.)

Judith Miller, writing with Laurie Mylorie, a Harvard professor specializing in Middle Eastern studies.

To his friends, al-Khalil has apparently confided news of an encounter he later had with Miller, whose demeanor was unfriendly and conversation replete with suggestions that aside from her own influential position at the New York Times she had powerful friends and that al-Khalil's future literary endeavors would not necessarily flourish this side of the Atlantic. (Reached by my colleague Peter Siskind, Miller confirmed she's discussed a book project in London with al-Khalil. She described him as a "friend" and said she wouldn't discuss the content of their conversations or where and when she might have met him later, since this could endanger his life. For its part, Hutchinson confirms that prior to the invasion, the emirate put down cash in part payment for the bulk purchase of which one U.S. publishing informant says involved 15,000 books.)

Miller is now covering the crisis. On October 1, for example, the Times published under her byline a most affecting story about Sheik Jaber al-Ahmed al-Sabah's speech to the U.N. General Assembly the previous Thursday. It was of a tone surely gratifying to the Emir and his public relations advisors, the aforementioned Hill & Knowlton, who will no doubt be billing the offshore government of Kuwait for hundreds of thousands of dollars for this due diligence in persuading the Times Miller's story with such subheads as "Wrapped in Dignity, the Emir Manages to Dazzle." Perhaps Vitale's hopes will at last be realized, and the offshore government of Kuwait will place a substantial advance order for the forthcoming volume by Miller and Mylroie.

Regina Costa,No Sweat and WIP Board Member, covers the cost of Alexander Cockburn's column. Thank you!

Stealing From the Mentally Ill

A psychiatrist examines the scandal that stripped impoverished mentally ill people of a chance for recovery.

by Fuller Torrey

The origin of the homeless mentally ill is no longer a mystery. The inhabitants of the nations' streets and shelters, hallucinating to unseen companions as they carry their earthly belongings in shopping bags, have been shown to be, in large measure, products of a failed mental health program.

A report recently released by Public Citizen Health Research Group and the National Alliance for the Mentally Ill asserts that the majority of the homeless mentally ill would not be on the streets today if the Community Mental Health Centers had done their jobs.

The centers originated under President Kennedy as treatment alternatives to state mental health hospitals, which were known as "snake pits" due to their inhuman living conditions and scandalously poor treatment of their patients.

"The basic purpose of the president's program is to redirect the focus of treatment of the mentally ill from state hospitals into community mental health center," said Department of Health and Human Service officials who testified during congressional hearing on proposed legislation concerning the centers.

Between 1967 and 1980, 789 centers were given federal funds; of these, 575 received construction grants which legally obligated them for a period of 20 years to provide five basic services: inpatient, outpatient, day hospitalization, emergency services and consultation. These centers were also mandated to provide "a reasonable volume of services to persons unable to pay therefor."

What many centers actually did was something else. Some of them, such as Michigan's Battle Creek Adventist Hospital, accept federal funds, yet the facility "never materialized," according to federal records. It became a "phantom" Community Mental Health Center, one of at least 25 such centers in the United States.

Other centers, such as DePaul Hospital in New Orleans, were illegally purchased and operated by for-profit corporations. Still others, such as Orlando Regional Medical Center in Florida, used mental health construction funds to build a staff swimming pool and tennis courts. The facility even hired a lifeguard and swimming instructor with federal funds meant for mental health staff. Lindemann Mental Health Center in Boston built not only a pool, but a chapel as well.

Orlando Regional Medical Center in Florida, used mental health construction funds to build a staff swimming pool and tennis courts. The facility even hired a lifeguard and swimming instructor with federal funds meant for mental health staff.

The report on the Community Mental Health Centers found that half of the 575 facilities that received construction funds were not in compliance with federal regulations. Half of those—or about 140 centers—are liable for immediate recovery of federal funds.

The Thalians Community Mental Health Center at Cedars-Sinai Hospital in Los Angeles is another example of a failed center. It accepted $1.4 million in federal money to construct a 3-story building in 1973, then took another $6.9 million in federal funds to pay its staff. By 1981, it had unilaterally decided that its 20-year obligation was over and reverted to merely being a private hospital with a psychiatric ward.

Federal records show that some of the federally constructed mental health space was turned over to the hospital's diabetes treatment unit, no partial hospitalization services (which are especially needed by the seriously mentally ill) were being offered, emergency services were apparently being run by a for-profit medical group and virtually no services were available "to persons unable to pay therefor." In short, Cedars-Sinai had swallowed #8.3 million in federal funds intended to improve services for the impoverished mentally ill-but those people had nothing to show for it.

A relationship has been established between the failed Community Mental Health Centers and the number of homeless mentally ill individuals on the streets of every city in America. Most studies of the homeless have reported that approximately 30 percent are seriously mentally ill, usually schizophrenic or manic depressive.

This means that if there are 500,000 adult homeless individuals in the United States-a very conservative estimate—then 150,000 of them are seriously mentally ill. Since the total number of individuals with schizophrenia and manic-depressive psychosis remaining in state hospitals is approximately 70,000 there are more than twice as many seriously mentally ill people on the streets and in public shelters as there are in state mental hospitals. Upon leaving the hospital, these people joined the legions of the homeless.

A study of discharged patients from an Ohio mental hospital found that 36 percent of them had become homeless within six months. A similar study in Massachusetts reported that 27 percent of the discharged patients had become homeless within six months.

When a Community Mental Health Center such as the Thalians Center at Cedars-Sinai Hospital in Los Angeles fails, the effect on individuals with serious mental illness ripples across the community.

Thalians was intended to serve patients who were being discharged from Camarillo, Metropolitan and Patton State hospitals—but no such services are being provided. The ripples are seen in a 988 survey in Los Angeles of 53 homeless mentally ill individuals living in the streets, in parks, abandoned cars, or on the beach.

Seventy-nine percent of these destitute men and women had been discharged from a state mental hospital of the psychiatric ward of a general hospital. Yet none of them were receiving outpatient psychiatric help at the time of the study. Outpatient care is vital to these patients because, in almost all cases, they relapse if they don't continue to receive medication.

The ripple effect of a center failure is also felt at the Los Angeles County Jail, where about 15 percent of the jail's 24,000 inmates are seriously mentally ill; those 3,600 mentally ill inmates make this jail de facto the largest mental hospital in the country.

The ripple effect of a center failure is also felt at the Los Angeles County Jail, where about 15 percent of the jail's 24,000 inmates are seriously mentally ill; those 3,600 mentally ill inmates make this jail *de facto* the largest mental hospital in the country. Many of these inmates are charged with misdemeanors-but their criminal activity was a product of their mental illness. These people did not get the help they needed because Community Mental Health Centers like Thalians failed to do the job they had agreed to do when they accepted federal funds.

The lack of federal oversight of the Community Mental Health Centers for almost 25 years is extraordinary, even by Washington [,D.C.] standards. Federal officials proved efficient in giving money away, but seemed remarkably inept at following up to see that it was spent correctly. Between 1967, when the first center was funded, and 1982, nobody monitored the centers, despite a series of reports severely criticizing them by the

(Continued next page.)

Unions do more than negotiate wages.

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* **The County/City Charter**
* **Propostion 21**
* **Initiative 547**

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Phone 943-7178 Helen Lee, President

On the Streets, On His Own

by George Makuh

My friend is a representative of four groups of people devastated by the American way. His mother, a Native American, died of alcohol abuse at Pioneer Square in Seattle. His father, an African American, deserted the children. He and his brothers and sisters were found living in the bushes.

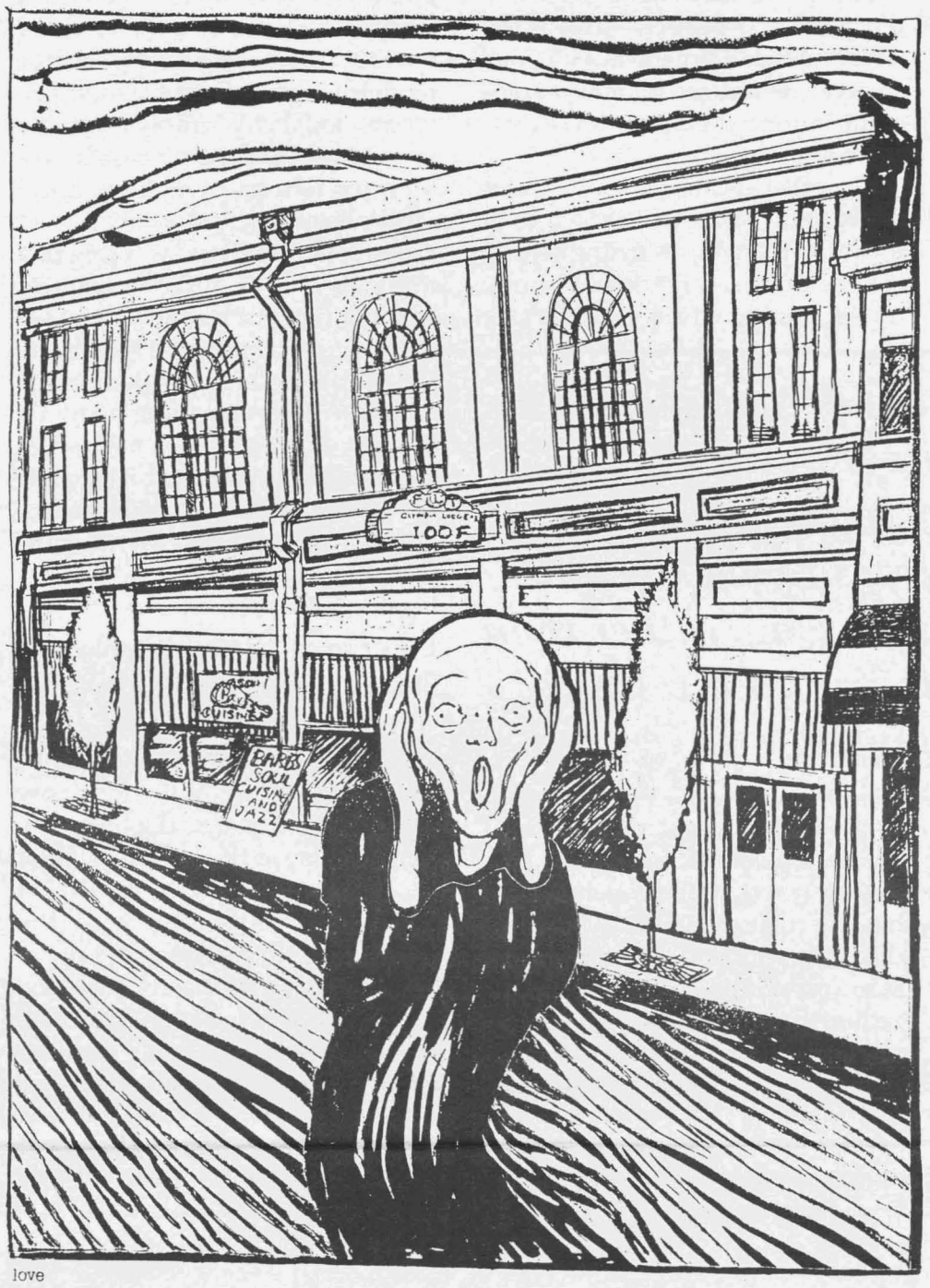
A decent foster family was found but the damage is too extensive and my friend wanders the streets living where he can. He is now 22 and on his own.

He is poor beyond belief for this country, yet his mental distance makes it difficult and usually impossible to utilize the services available. At times, as we converse, he breaks into wild laughter. I feel it would be rude to inquire but others do. He smiles and shakes this head at a question of such magnitude.

There is a guitar that he plays as he crouches by a cassette player. He hammers vigorously in strange counter part to metal ragings, a form of music accessible to only the truly alienated.

He lives under bridges. Last winter he found a concrete bench under a bridge and felt lucky during the heavy snows. Unfortunately, his bedding and sleeping pad disappeared under the snow at some point, but he survived.

Other than guitar playing, his entertainment consists mainly of drinking cheap wine and 40's with the Rockers and Stoners. They are tough white kids who are quick to take offense. When my friend drinks, he runs his mouth and is beaten. Usually this takes place in the street so he is frequently arrested for public combat, drinking and whatever.



love

The system tends to fine him and turn him lose. Fines are too abstract and apparently part of a local conspiracy to keep him from leaving this town. So he occasionally sits down with me and we attempt to reason about this phenomena. Finally the system resolved it. They sent him to jail to burn the fine with time.

He spent the first part of his time with others, but, according to unreliable sources, the white inmates tormented him with taunts about his ancestry and amusing cartoons depicting KKK type activities usually concerning his mother being nailed to burning crosses. My friend went mad.

A couple of months later while driving down off tiger summit one Monday morning, I saw a familiar figure trudging up the highway. I turned around and stopped. He got in the car.

He did not recognize me because he is almost blind and had lost his glasses a few months ago during a fight. I asked where he was going. He was pleased then to recognize me and told me he was going to the Rocky Mountains and did I know where they were. We were close to I-90 so I drew a map in the dust on my dash board. We puzzled over it for a bit, then I said to just stay on the big highway until he got through the desert and started going way up in the air and it got cold. This would be the Rockies. I also warned him not to go off the big highway too much because the rednecks there would not understand about him. He agreed this was a good plan. Then I gave him all my money as per our long standing agreement and off he went. He waved goodbye and he seemed pleased that someone would know he was gone.

As I drove off, I remembered that in Vietnam when someone we liked or even loved was killed or maimed, we would shrug and say, "Sorry about that. Better him than me." At the time I was vain enough to think we invented that outlook for this country. I see now that is merely the American way and I am merely an American.

George Makuh is a resident of Thurston County and a very quiet activist.

(Stealing, continued.)

American Psychiatric Association, the Department of Health Education and Welfare, the General Accounting Office and Public Citizen's 1972 book, *The Madness Establishment*.

In 1982, Paul Curtis at the National institutes of Mental Health assumed responsibility for monitoring the program and initiated legal action against 10 centers that were out of compliance. Between 1982 and 1986, Curtis recovered $3,769,371 for the federal government from these failed centers. Not only did top officials at the National Institutes of Mental Health fail to assist him in such recovery action, but Curtis feels some may have even impeded his efforts.

"I met with very determined resistance from the NIMH...I was actively discouraged from seeking recoveries," says Curtis. Since he retired in 1986, NIMH has not recovered any additional money.

This lack of federal interest in programs for the mentally ill is representative of a widespread attitude of neglect for our most troubled citizens—the mentally ill may be the most invisible, the most neglected and the most stigmatized segments of the population. Until the formation of the National Alliance of the Mentally Ill in 1980, an organization of mentally ill people and their families, no group existed to protect their interests. NAMI now has 80,000 members in 900 local chapters.

A copy of Public Citizen's HRG/NAMI report on the Community Mental Health Centers scandal can be obtained by sending $5 to: Dept. CMHC; 2000 P St., Washington, DC 20036. Dr. E. Fuller Torrey is a psychiatric researcher who volunteers time and expertise to the Health Research Group. He is the senior author of the report on Community Mental Health Centers and author of Nowhere to Go: The Tragic Odyssey of the Homeless Mentally Ill.

This article was reprinted from Ralph Nader's Public Citizen with the permission of Ana Radelat, Editor.

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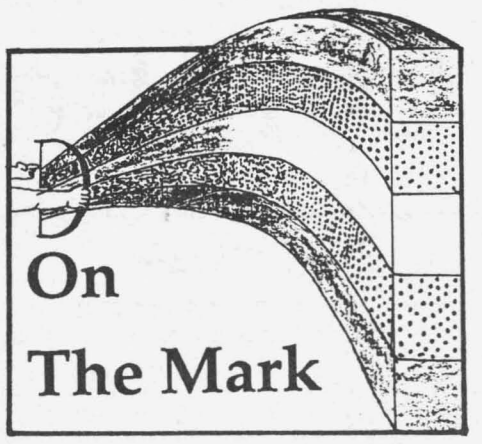
DEMOCRACY IN A GRASSROOTS ORGANIZATION



by Dave Jette

We live in an authoritarian society. We have democracy in form, and we surely must retain such democratic forms as we transform our society to one based upon meeting the needs of the vast majority of the people, rather than those of a relatively small economic elite.

The transformation to a decent society is going to require the progressive empowering of people to control all aspects of their own lives. This has got to be done in a collective way, rather than on an individual basis, for all our lives are integrally intermingled.

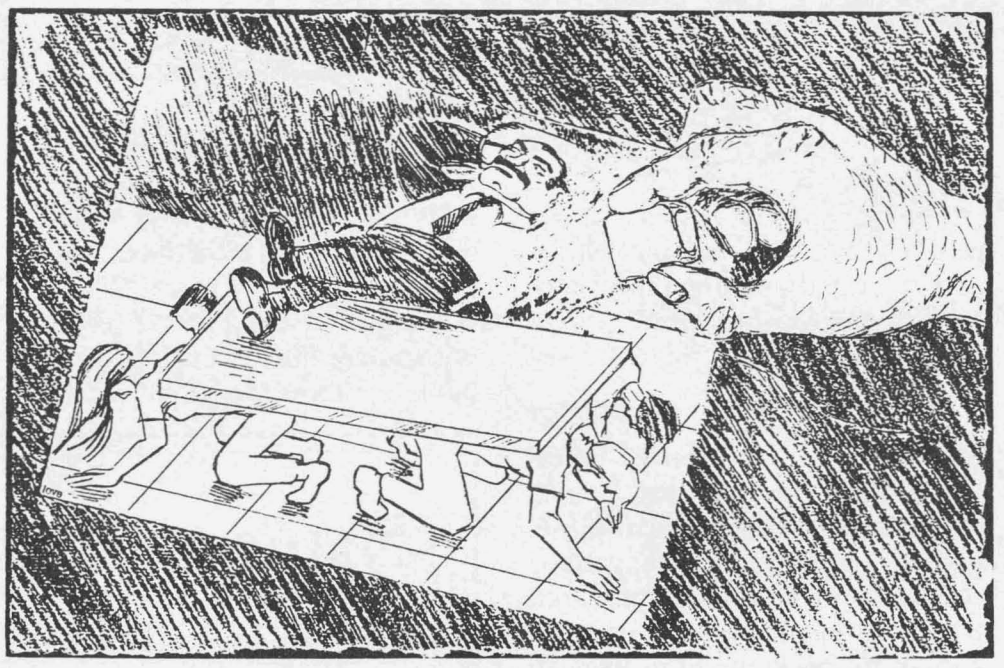
However, our political system functions in such a way as to give a free hand to the politicians, who serve this economic elite, while the masses of people remain passive and consider casting a vote every year or two for these politicians to be the essence of "democracy". (Actually, in our own country a great many people don't even bother to participate in this charade!)

The transformation to a decent society is going to require the progressive empowering of people to control all aspects of their own lives. This has got to be done in a collective way, rather than on an individual basis, for all our lives are integrally intermingled. (Going to live in a cabin in the mountains is no society-wide solution!) Thus what is going to be needed is democratically functioning grassroots organizations actively involving large numbers of people to address and solve the problems facing themselves. Unfortunately, we strongly tend to reproduce in our organizations the authoritarian functioning of the society which surrounds us, especially if the organization is large.

Authoritarian and democratic models of organization

There are two ways to approach the work of large organizations. One is the top-down approach: we have a strong central leadership (usually self-perpetuating in practice, if not structurally), and the rest of the membership is relatively passive, carrying out (often vigorously for some members) the directives from the central leadership. If the central leadership is good at evaluating the problems facing the organization's work and has a clear idea about how to attain its goals, such an organization can be quite effective. Even though the main activity of the majority of the organization's membership is paying their dues, many of them can be mobilized (with effort) by the secondary leadership of the organization, to carry out particular projects. This is the usual model of organization in our society; regardless of how democratic in form it may be, it is essentially authoritarian.

The other approach is profoundly democratic, in content as well as in form. It still requires strong central leadership (for a large organization), but leadership which views its task as summing up overall lessons of the organization's work, and proposing ways for the general membership to move the work forward; this is essentially political leadership (proposing courses of action) rather than organizational leadership (working out in detail what everyone has to be doing). The key to this model of organization is decentralization of work, so that those who are actually carrying out work are also deciding how to do it (and, through democratic organizational structures, whether to do it in the first place). At first sight this model may seem less efficient and effective than the top-down model, but in fact a fully democratic organization is far more effective than an authoritarian one, because it mobilizes the resources and energies of all of its members.



If we are indeed to transform the politics of Washington State in a progressive way, we have no choice but to adopt the second, democratic model of organization. The authoritarian model will simply not allow us to build the political base necessary, for to transform the political power relationships we shall need a great many activists working day in and day out on building progressive politics, not just a spurt of activity during a particular campaign. On the other hand, the democratic model will provide these many vitally involved activists - that is what happens when you make it possible for people to pursue their own interests in an organized way, according to how they themselves feel it is necessary to proceed.

Experience of the Washington State Rainbow Coalition

In an earlier column (September 1990, entitled "The Rise and Fall of the Washington State Rainbow Coalition"), I related the organizational collapse of the WSRC after such a strong beginning. What essentially happened with the WSRC was the adoption of the authoritarian model - not deliberately, for on the whole the WSRC state leadership was consciously committed to democratic functioning. But in spite of their good intentions, the state leadership fell into the trap of elitist functioning: they viewed their role as organizing the work of the Rainbow, rather than facilitating the self-organized activity of the Rainbow membership. And they didn't even do a competent job of this, so that the WSRC has quickly fallen apart.

By last fall it was clear that the WSRC was in trouble. Within the state Executive Committee I had voiced our organizational difficulties most clearly, and I was therefore appointed to chair a planning committee for a state leadership retreat. The retreat was held last March with the participation of some forty WSRC leaders from across the state. At this meeting the elitist outlook of the state leadership became clear, as crystallized in their rejection of a particular resolution on information flow.

The resolution, as I originally proposed it, read "Every WSRC member shall have complete access to all documents, records, letters, etc. of her/his local unit and of any higher organizational body in the WSRC." In order to have any chance of passage, I accepted as a friendly amendment that the Executive Committee has the authority to decide which materials may be available, but even in this toothless form the resolution was decisively defeated (9-15). Carefully controlling access by the membership to information about what is going on is crucial to keeping them passively accepting what is decided for them by the leadership.

"Suspension" and Resignation

I finally decided to let the WSRC membership know what's been going on, with my September column in this newspaper. This was not exactly to the liking of the WSRC leadership, and at the September 28th meeting of the State Steering Committee they voted unanimously to suspend me as state Corresponding Secretary for writing that article and then providing the mailing labels to send it out to the whole WSRC membership. The suspension was actually illegal, for the WSRC bylaws state that this can be done only after an "appropriate hearing", and I wasn't even present to defend myself, but they decided to give me my hearing at their next meeting, in December, and in the meantime to carry out the sentence.

At that meeting, the State Steering Committee also decided to deny my formal request to provide the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition with the mailing labels to send out the October issue of Works in Progress to the WSRC membership. In that issue, my column corrected a certain one-sidedness in the previous month's column, but it also gave my views about revitalizing the WSRC, which the state leadership evidently didn't want the membership to consider. Having had enough of dealing with this calibre of people, I have now resigned as a WSRC officer.

At its October 13th general meet-

(Continued next page.)

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ing, the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition decided to send out the October issue to the entire WSRC membership nonetheless, and I have been most pleased to provide them with the mailing labels for this. The covering letter for this mailing states that the TCRC and I do not believe it is the proper role of the leadership of an organization to control, to filter, to restrict in any way, the flow of information and opinions to the membership about what the organization is doing and how it is functioning. Such a view by the leadership is completely elitist, stemming from their regarding themselves rather than the membership as the motive force for the organization's activity.

Living as we do in an authoritarian society, it is by no means easy to break with elitist views of leadership, with the authoritarian model of organization. But if we are ever to progress toward building an egalitarian society meeting human needs, we have no choice but to consciously organize ourselves completely democratically, in content as well as in form. I hope that this article helps to point the way forward.

Dave Jette, a regular columnist for Works In Progress, has long been active with the NCIPA (National Coalition for Independent Political Action)..

Dear Sisters and Brothers

The following letter to The Washington State Rainbow Coalition Steering Committee was ordered written by the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition General Membership meeting of October 15th.

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

We regret any misunderstandings which may be developing between our local Thurston County Rainbow and the Washington State Rainbow. We write this letter in hopes of creating a communication link.

At our last general membership meeting of the TCRC, we discussed the issues surrounding using the State mailing labels to send the October *Works In Progress* to the WSRC membership.

We decided to proceed with sending the issue for the following reasons:

1) We believe it is important that those who received the September issue also receive the current issue which completes the discussion.

2) We believe it is in our interest as an organization to provide and stimulate open communication and discussion.

3) We support Dave Jette, as we would any Rainbow member in their efforts to provide insightful observation which promote change and growth.

This effort at open communication has received a positive response in our community.

We, futher, desire to meet with members of the WSRC Steering Committee. Perhaps, you might allow time for spokespersons from TCRC on the agenda of the next State Steering Committee meeting.

We request, also, a public response to Dave's article from the WSRC Steering Committee to be published in *Works In Progress*.

We continue to subscribe to the ideals of the Rainbow and wish to work toward their fulfullment.

Keep hope alive.

Martin Luther King, Jr. Distinguished Service Awards

Each year the Olympia Branch of the Tacoma Urban League presents three awards to persons who have made outstanding contributions to the community. The three categories are: (1) Community Development, (2) Personal Achievement, and (3) Humanitarian.

The Olympia Branch will do so again on January 21, 1991 at the Washington Center for the Performing Arts, the official MLK holiday. It is an annual celebration of his birthday.

The Awards Committee is soliciting candidates for each of these three categories from the community. Please write for the guidelines should you wish to nominate one or more candidates. Deadline for submittal is December 31, 1990.

Write to Meta Heller, awards chairperson, Olympia Branch of the Tacoma Urban League, P.O. Box 5818, Olympia, WA 98507

The Rainbow and Iraq

An Open Letter to Jesse Jackson

The following letter was faxed to Rev. Jesse Jackson, president of the National Rainbow Coalition, on August 15,1990. it was signed by six people from four states who are either on the National Rainbow Board or are State Chairs.

Rev. Jesse Jackson,

We are dismayed that you have endorsed the sending of U.S. troops to Saudi Arabia and U.S. ships and planes to the Persian Gulf, and have said that the United States must be prepared to "use military force, multilaterally or unilaterally." Surely you know, as even Thomas Friedman has pointed out in the *New York Times*, that "The United States has NOT sent troops to the Saudi desert to preserve democratic principles." Saddam Hussein is a tyrant, but so are the rulers of Saudi Arabia, which is a reactionary feudal regime that opposes and violates all the good things that you and the Rainbow stand for.

We too condemn the invasion of Kuwait, but any valid solution must be worked out through the United Nations and the Arab states. Bush is sending troops and ships into the most heavily armed area of the world in order to serve the reactionary interests of an American and International corporate empire that holds the lives of Third World peoples in contempt and causes millions of Americans to live in poverty and to suffer racial injustice and other indignities. If the present policies are not quickly reversed, American GIs will die and kill in the course of protecting such interests, whatever the personal political views of the GIs may be. So will people in the Mideast who deserve better and will not get it under increased military and corporate domination by the U.S. The U.S. policy of military force will degenerate into actions similar to the shelling of Shiite villages that happened in Lebanon and accidents such as the shooting down of the civilian Iranian aircraft, thereby provoking retaliatory terrorist acts by forces sympathetic to the victims. Meanwhile the oil companies are fostering the illusion that we are running out of oil and are shamelessly profiteering at the expense of the public. They are doing for themselves what Saddam Hussein is trying to do for himself and Iraq.

Saddam Hussein is a tyrant, but so are the rulers of Saudi Arabia, which is a reactionary feudal regime that opposes and violates all the good things that you and the Rainbow stand for.

These are the realities you should be making clear. At the same time, you should be calling for alternate sources of energy, from temporary increases of oil from Mexico, Venezuela et al, if such are needed, to a major program for developing solar power, along with programs to develop autos with increased gas mileage, a major public transportation system, and other steps toward conservation.

Bush, Sununu, et. al. have seized an opportunity to justify a military buildup and to divert attention from the S&L scandal and the other atrocities that plague our people. They are undercutting your demand that the needy people of the United State receive not just a peace dividend but the peace principal. Instead of being linked with Henry Kissinger and other imperialists who are cheering them on, you should be standing solidly with the victims and with the vision of a better America that won you seven million votes in the last Presidential primaries. You may think you are showing the leaders of the Democratic Party that you are mainstream enough to receive the Party's nomination for President, but it will not work. Even if it did, you would lose the support of large numbers of those who ave supported you in the past and without whose work and votes you will never be elected. We prefer the words we once heard form your lips: "If farmers, labor, women, and the youth support us, and peace activist, Blacks, Latinos, Native Americans, Lesbians, and Bays, and the disabled support us, then we are a majority. And if the Democratic Party keeps insulting us, we may have to have our own vehicle. We may have to tackle the Democratic Party in a general election.

The Democratic Party has insulted everything you stand for and it is time for you to be true to yourself rather than to the Democratic party and the illusion that it will ever embrace you. We stand ready to support you in a future campaign based on Rainbow Coalition principals and so do millions of other Americans.

We look forward to hearing from you. With love and sadness but, knowing you, not without hope . . .

This letter is reprinted from the October issue of Z magazine with permission of Michael Albert, editor.

An Interview with Jeff Paterson

On August 29, 1990, Corporal Jeff Paterson, a 22 year old Marine stationed in Hawaii, sat down on the runway of Kaneohe Marine Corps Air Station, and refused to board a Saudi bound plane. He was the first active duty GI to say NO to this war. He is the military's first political prisoner of this war. Jeff didn't wait until the mass graves were dug or the body bags came home. KAOS programmer Tom Freeman interviewed Jeff live over-the-air by phone on Thursday October 4, 1990. The following are excerpts of that conversation.

Tom: Jeff, lets start with why you refused to join the other troops in Saudi Arabia?

Jeff: Well, I came to the conclusion that this war - like almost every other war we have ever participated in - is not in the best interest of the people of the United States. Pretty bluntly its for profit and the manipulation of world resources.

Tom: Why is it not in our best interest?

Jeff: 150,000 troops don't need to be considered expendable to secure less than 5% of this nation's oil supply. There are other ways to make up for that 5% of oil than creating a blood bath which can be still averted.

Tom: What has happened to you since you refused to participate in the U.S. military build up?

Jeff: Well, approximately six weeks ago I held a press conference and I told the military that I wasn't going to be a participant in this, another great American adventure. And at that time they said, "okay, fine. We'll kick you out - dishonorable discharge - no problem." But then they decided that maybe I got too much publicity and they needed to make an example of me. So they ordered me to board a plane for Saudi Arabia at which time I said "No go" and I sat down on the runway and they picked me up out of the way of the airplane and the airplane took off without me.

Tom: Did you at first have an agreement with the military that what they would do would be to actually process you out of the military for refusing to go?

Jeff: That was their first position.

Tom: But they changed it because of the publicity?

Jeff: I believe so. They didn't want to look bad.

Tom: It says here in this press release that I got that a military magistrate had ruled that your release from the brig would pose "serious threat to the moral discipline, readiness, effectiveness and safety of the command and the national security of the United States." Is that correct?

Jeff: Yes, it kind of makes me feel important.

Tom: How have you been treated by the military since openly refusing to participate in the war build up?

Jeff: Personally how they have responded to me is to try to make me feel like I'm an average type of marine and I go about my average job. But on another level, everybody knows what my position is and they have done everything they can to keep me from the press and that's barring me from actually leaving the base and barring the press from entering the base.

Tom: So you are on the base right now?

Jeff: Yes, I'm at work.

Tom: Jeff, one thing that someone asked me the other day, that I think a lot of people are wondering the same thing, is why did you enlist in the military in the first place? And what has changed your perspectives?

Jeff: Well, I enlisted when I was eighteen years old, I was out of high school and that is why, pretty much, everyone enlists. They're coming out of high school and they don't know what in the heck they want to do with their lives and they see the commercials about the education opportunities after you get out and making money and the guaranteed training, and the excitement and adventure. And I enlisted for all those reasons and a couple of others - you know - to give my mother a break so I wouldn't have to live off of her forever.

Tom: Did you feel you needed to do that to makes ends meet?

Jeff: Well, I'm from a small agricultural farming community in California. The biggest employer is a defense contractor who makes explosives and that wasn't what I wanted to do for the rest of my life. I thought maybe the military would be kind of an opportunity, instead of spending the next 20 years of my life slaving away for some defense contractor.

Tom: So, Jeff, what has changed your perspectives?

Jeff: Oh, when I joined I really had no problem defending my country, in going off and killing who ever needed to be killed for whatever cause America thought was necessary. But over the last three years I've seen first hand the exploitation of the Philippine people, the bombing of Okinawa, the militarism in South Korea, and even our destruction of the islands here. The military has even taken over one of the islands to have a bombing target in the middle of the ocean.

Tom: Are you someone who feels comfortable to continue in any military capacity at all?

Jeff: No, I made it quite clear that I am not going to continue in any military capacity whatever. No matter what, they are going to have to discharge me.

Tom: Jeff, how has the media covered your action and how have they represented your views and objections?

Jeff: The media here in Hawaii has been pretty good, believe it or not. And there was good turnout for our first press conference. We got carried on the wire service and we even made CNN and CBS. I think they did a relatively good job.

Tom: So you feel that they have really been listening to the message you're trying to get across?

Jeff: The vast majority have and they could have twisted it, but thankfully they haven't and they're kind of on my side, to tell you the truth.

Tom: What are the potential ramifications of your decision legally?

Jeff: Right now as it stands, I'm waiting for a court martial and the maximum they can give me is five years hard labor. But considering my record and considering the way I went about this, we're looking at the worst case scenario of one year. One year in jail. I've already spent a month in jail, waiting for pre-trial confinement. It wasn't too bad. Military jail is mainly a lot of doing nothing all day and sitting in a cell and reading two month old Time magazines. Get up at 4:30 and wait to go to sleep at 10.

Tom: The military probably wants to see you get some sort of punishment to send the message to other troops that they best not try to do what you have done.

Jeff: Yeah, I think the military is trying to make an example out of me - changing their position from "okay we're not going to make him go, we're just going to kick him out" to "well, let's see, we just can't let everybody decide they don't want to go, and expect us not to send them". So that's why they decided to force the confrontation about me not getting on the plane in the first place, and now their position probably is this: send him to the brig for awhile, make an example of him. On the other hand, they have to contend with the continuing exposure the case and my position against the war is generating in an up front kind of way. Hopefully they might want to avoid that.

Tom: Jeff, from your point of view, what are the general attitudes of the other military troops that are there? Do other people feel the same way but figure that they have to go because they have no choice or they are afraid to take the same sort of brave stance you have - or do you feel that most favor the build up and are excited to go?

Jeff: There are very few people who are excited to go to Saudi Arabia. But I understand the position about not having a choice or thinking you don't have a choice because I came very close to taking that same position. But I just decided that everybody has a choice no matter what. And the first thing is to go by how you feel and not following orders or living up to your contract as a indentured servant that you signed four years ago. People come up to me all the time to shake my hand and stuff like that. Of course I've gotten mixed reviews but those people make it a lot easier to deal with the more negative stuff.

. . . they come across very emotional saying, "Well, my dad's over there and he's going to die, you should die, too." And it's hard to argue with that kind of thinking but I try to explain this: it's not really my fault that their husbands are in Saudi Arabia and I am not the one who should be blamed.

Then on the other side I have to deal with all the wives and all the children who are back here and their husbands and fathers are in Saudi Arabia. And they come across very emotional saying, "Well, my dad's over there and he's going to die, you should die, too." And it's hard to argue with that kind of thinking but I try to explain this: it's not really my fault that their husbands are in Saudi Arabia and I am not the one who should be blamed.

Tom: What are people doing there to support you? Do you have a circle of friends there who keep you company

Jeff: Well, Tom, I'm in a really good position. For the last two years I've been an organizer and activist with the different peace and anti-interventionist groups and we have been working around the numerous censorship issues and reproductive rights for women. So I had some pretty good connections with the activists. From that, we did a pretty good job of creating a support committee to defend Jeff Paterson, USO, Persian Gulf Committee and that is what allows us to sends this message nationally.

Tom: What kind of legal representation do you have?

Jeff: My top lawyer is Mr. Eric Seitz and he's here in Honolulu and he has been doing these kind of cases for twenty years, since Vietnam. During Vietnam he did approximately a hundred of these cases. So he is pretty well versed in military law. And I also have a military attorney and - believe it or not - he's pretty good himself. On top of that I have an American Civil Liberties Union lawyer helping me out and I have a part-time attorney in Washington, D.C. who has been helping out, and one in Chicago who is doing some research also.

Tom: Are they pretty optimistic that you'll win your case and will be set free?

Jeff: Winning is kind of relative. To us, winning would consist in me being discharged as soon as possible with even a general discharge under dishonorable conditions. You know, that to me that would be a victory because getting an honorable discharge or being vindicated of the charges really doesn't mean that much to me because I don't really consider myself having to play by the rules.

Tom: I assume that you feel that the position you've taken as a conscientious objector is the morally correct one and that - no matter how they term it - it is an honorable position for you to have.

Jeff: Yeah, it's the only honorable position that I could have come up with. You know, prior to me seeing an attorney, I decided that people do have a choice and there was no way that I was going to participate in this thing. At that time I said 'okay I'm not going' and I saw an attorney and he mentioned that maybe I was a conscientious objector and I asked him 'a what'? At that point I was trying to figure out what a conscientious objector was. So, I made my decision not to go based on my own moral principles. And in the end they may decide that I'm not one and that's fine too. But, I did what I had to do and I feel good about that.

Tom: Jeff, would you say that had you filed as a conscientious objector before there was clearly some sort of aggression coming up in the Middle East that you would have a stronger case?

Jeff: Yeah, I would say so. But before this came up I had three months to serve in the military and I was looking to get out in forty-five days and to file for a conscientious objector application takes up to six months sometimes. Didn't didn't make sense to file for a C.O..

Tom: Just bide your time and get out of there.

Jeff: That's right and on top of that, I didn't know what the heck a conscientious objector was two months or so ago.

Tom: What would you like to see people in local communities do in regards to what is going on?

Jeff: I'd like to see a really grass-roots movement to oppose this war right now before it even starts. I think that we should have learned our lesson from Vietnam - that we don't have to wait for the body bags to come back and we don't have to wait for a draft and we don't have to wait for a whole scale bombing of cities before we become concerned about war. And the only way we're going to avert this war, in my opinion, is if the American people make it quite clear that they are not going to put up with it.

Tom: And is there anything that people can do to put pressure on the military or whoever to try to help you out personally?

Jeff: I think so. Feel free to write my commanding general a letter. That would be really good. His name is General Phillips. You can send letters to: General Phillips, Kaneohe Marine Air Station, Hawaii 96863 and he'll get it.

Tom: Jeff, I want to tell you that I'm really impressed with what you have done. You're obviously someone who has done a lot of educating, a lot of learning and a lot searching - and we're behind you all the way.

Jeff: Hey, I'm not done, yet.

Tom: Let me ask you one more thing. What are you going to do when you're out?

Jeff: I plan on attending college here in Hawaii, at the University of Hawaii and continue being an activist in paradise.

From Son to Dad

by Jeff Paterson

I received a letter from my father a few days ago. He wanted to let me know he was on his way home from visiting relatives in Tucson, and reminded me that he loves me. In closing, he mentioned, "I know you're doing what you believe is right, but I can't say I agree with your argument that this is all about oil and gasoline." You're right Dad, it isn't. He ended with "I hope your beliefs won't make you pay too large a price later on, you have plenty of living yet to do." I'm sure that last remark was foremost on his mind. I've thought it over myself a few times.

The price of living by one's principles and acting on ideals may seem high, but to do less is to recognize truth and ignore it. History has proven that the potential price to be paid in doing nothing is far greater.

Central America is more than a banana plantation, Southern Africa is more than diamonds and gold, South America is much more than coffee beans. And what's at stake in the Middle East is far more than just oil and gasoline. The common denominator here is people. People struggling to eke out an existence and watching the profits of their sweat and blood going to overseas investors and multi-national corporations. The cut taken by their country, in the case of the Arabs, is collected in the coffers of oil Emirs, sheiks, and kings to prolong their monarchies, kingdoms and dictatorships.

President Bush claims that nothing less than "the American way of life" is on the line in the sands of the Kuwaiti desert. This, however, does not explain why 150,000 Americans need to be considered expendable in an attempt to secure less than 5% of this nation's oil supplies. What is really at stake is who will manipulate the Earth's resources to the benefit of whom in the post-Cold War era, and by what degree. Bush's not-so-hidden agenda is in making this confrontation into a precedent for establishing the U.S. as undisputed policeman of the world, thus establishing Washington D.C. as the capitol of a "new uni-polar world order". If we allow Bush to proclaim this manifest destiny for this country, we will have hell to pay. Being global Supercop and Puppetmaster of resources will not come cheap in dollars and lives. Undoubtedly, Bush sees the opening for unrestrained economic and military blackmail on the rest of the world as a means of recouping these expenditures. It is in the hands of the people to derail this resurgent agenda and stop the war.

My father's concern about what price is to be paid by those of us who envision Humankind's future based on justice and peace, not global domination and political blackmail, addresses a question faced by everyone who takes up the struggle against injustice on any level. Someone told me not so long ago, "Seek out the truth, for the truth will set you free." He was wrong. The truth will not set you free, but demands that you act upon it as a person of conscience. The price of living by one's principles and acting on ideals may seem high, but to do less is to recognize truth and ignore it. History has proven that the potential price to be paid in doing nothing is far greater.

Living in America allows us to feel free to speak on how great a nation this is, to parrot patriots, and worship the idols of nationalism. It is a far different thing to question the foundations of these rusted monoliths. Only by being adept activists can we expect the system we need to change to look upon us without disdain. To structure our lives and identities in an attempt to appease this system is to accept defeat before the battle has begun. Change at this juncture is no longer an option, for the Earth itself cannot continue to survive under the current order of "have" and "have-not" nations. We may very well be standing at the threshold of a new era. However, if we, the "Commie and Faggot Lovin' Idealists" do not have the courage to step through that door, who will?

I love you too pop.

Friendship Delegation Arrives from Nicaragua

by Jo Curtz

Santo Tomas, Nicaragua, is a town of 15,000 lying midway between the capital city, Managua, and the tropical rain forests of the east. The green hills surrounding the town are dotted with beef and dairy cattle and small corn - and beanfields. it is a place very far away from Northwest Washington, and yet you might visit there someday. This region is seen by a growing group of people in Thurston County as our "sister".

The sisterhood is strongly felt by several residents of Thurston County who have already spent time in the Santo Tomas regions. These Thurston County construction volunteers and their friends in Santo Tomas, along with others who have visited Nicaragua or simply felt the importance of a sister relationship, have formed the Thurston/Santo Tomas Sister County Association. They want to broaden and deepen the links of friendship and understanding between the two areas, for our mutual benefit.

The initial goal of the Thurston/Santo Tomas Sister County Association was to sponsor or facilitate one cultural exchange and one material aid product each year. The cultural exchange would be in both directions, with a delegation either coming from or going to Santo Tomas.

The three delegates, who arrived from Nicaragua on October 19th, will be in the Puget Sound area until November 12th. During that time they will stay in people's homes and visit schools and community and religious groups. The "amigos" are Virgilio Bravo Plata, Juana Ruiz Taleno and Padre Ignacio Gonzalez.

Bravo Plata is a high school teacher of history, economics, and physical education. He coaches the kids' league baseball teams that received the equipment last year. Committed to the goals of the Sandinista revolution, he spent four years in the army fighting the Contras and is now involved in the restructuring of the Sandinista Party.

Ruiz Taleno is a high school senior who will be the first in her family to graduate. They are dairy farmers who abandoned their farm and moved to Santo Tomas after being attacked by the Contras in 1986. A member of the Sandinista youth organization, Ruiz Taleno was active in the February 25 election campaign. She also volunteers at the local clinic.

Padre Ignacio Gonzalez, often described as "a saint" by those who know him, is a Colombian Montfort Missionary. He has worked in the Santo Tomas area for ten years, tending rural parishes, war refugees, and a variety of community development projects. As a liberation theologian, his primary commitment is working with the poor. This calling has led him to a life of great risk and inspiration.

Bringing "Tomasinos" to Thurston County has been a dream common to many who have visited Santo Tomas. One member, Shosana Liben is delighted to be able to see her Tomasino "brother" again, but she also has felt nervous anticipation. "We have so much. I don't know if he's ever been in a place that has hot water. It will be pretty intense and sobering for me. I'll have to confront what I've got because of what other people don't have."

Liben's feelings of discomfort are shared by others hosting the visitors from Santo Tomas. This is part of what cultural exchange is about: being face to face with people whose life experience is very different from one's own, honoring the differences as well as the commonalities, noting the inequities, and starting to draw some conclusions about how these things are all related.

This is part of what cultural exchange is about: being face to face with people whose life experience is very different from one's own, honoring the differences as well as the commonalities, noting the inequities, and starting to draw some conclusions about how these things are all related.

The need is great in the Santo Tomas region primarily because their country has been ravaged by many years of war. First there was the two-year revolution against the brutal Somoza dictatorship (supported by the U.S. government). Then, as the new Sandinista government started work on its ambitious programs to rebuild the economy and implement public services, the U.S. began directing the counter-revolutionary "Contra" war. Together, the wars lasted eleven years and claimed over 70,000 lives from Nicaragua's small population of 3 million.

One conclusion which Liben has drawn for her time in Santo Tomas is that "these people's experience is partly the end result of our foreign policy. "I want people here to see that: the ripple effect of our government's action."

Jeff Snyder, another membf the Olympia delegation, said simply, with sadness and resolve, "We've done a terrible disservice to their country and their lives. Let's make sure it never happens again."

A public educational event is planned for November 7, 7 pm at the Olympia Timberland Library. The topic is, "Understanding the Changes in Nicaragua: Personal Analysis by Nicaraguans." There will be refreshments and a short slideshow.

For further information about the Thurston/Santo Tomas Sister County Association or about the Nicaraguan delegation's itinerary, please call Jean Eberhardt, 943-8642, or Richard Smith, 754-8829.

Jo Curtz is a member of the Thurston/Santo Sister Association.

It's time for Change

Vote YES for a stronger citizen voice.

The Charter gives all Thurston County citizens the right of initiative and referendum. For the first time, we can propose new laws and repeal bad ones.

The Charter provides for a greater diversity of voices in regional decision making by expanding the county commission.

Vote YES for better growth management.

The Charter eliminates the duplication, waste and inaction that all to often characterizes today's government. It brings new visibility to affordable housing issues, requires new growth to pay its fair share and puts quality of life before profits.

Ratify the Charter

The Charter is supported by:

League of Women Voters
The Olympian newspaper
Thurston County Democrats
Sensible Growth Coalition
Mainstream Republicans of Washington, Thurston Chapter
Better Government League
Cooper Point Association
Tumwater Hill Neighborhood Assoc.
Thurston Futures
Black Hills Audubon Society
South Capitol Neighborhood Assoc.
Olympia City Council
State Employees Union, Local 443
Sierra Club, Sasquatch Group
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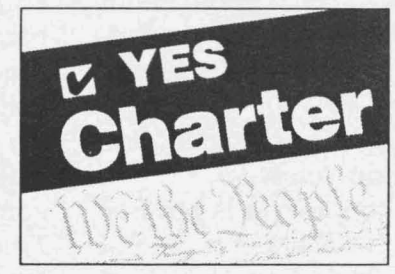

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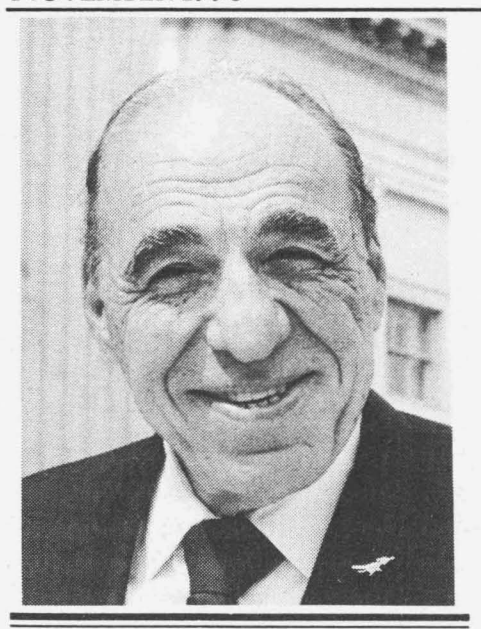


Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez

Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez's speech before the House of Representatives on Sept. 7th was edited for use in Works In Progress by Sylvia Smith.

Mr. Speaker, for many years, I have been concerned about the deposit insurance system, one of the cornerstones of our nation's financial and economic stability. It was evident to me that the deposit insurance system was vulnerable to abuse, to economic adversity and to regulatory failure years ago. The savings and loan insurance fund was insolvent as early as 1986, but the response of the Reagan administration was hesitant and inadequate. If anything, the response of the Congress was pathetic. Only last year did we finally take decisive steps to deal with the failure of the savings and loan insurance fund; and only this year have we fully realized the extent of the disaster. In the failure of FSLIC, we have the greatest financial scandal in the history of the nation. No one knows what the cost will be; that figure remains for history to determine. What we do know is that we must solve the problems left by a decade of financial excesses, legislative errors, and unprecedented regulatory failure.

We must now confront what some of us have been asking to confront for more than 24 years, that the deposit insurance system is in urgent need of repair. Today the bank insurance fund is facing a fifth consecutive year of multi-billion-dollar losses, and its reserve level is at less than half the amount required for minimum safety. Even though bank deposit insurance premiums have more than doubled since last year, the bank insurance fund remains at risk and at best will not reach a reasonably safe level for perhaps 5 more years. The failure of the FSLIC, the hundreds of billions of dollars it will cost, the present weakness of the bank insurance fund, are warnings we cannot ignore, particularly in the midst of spreading problems in the banking industry and continued weakness in the savings and loan industry. Reform is imperative.

The Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee will conduct hearings throughout September to learn more about the scope of the problem and how it might be addressed. I hope that despite all the distractions we face in the closing days of this Congress, my colleagues will pay close attention to this problem, because it must be dealt with, and the sooner the better. My proposal for deposit insurance reform will be controversial—truthfully, any realistic proposal will be controversial. But no matter how much controversy reform might create, I can assure you that it would be small compared to the outrage that would occur if the deposit insurance system suffers another scandalous failure.

We can reach the goal of strengthening and protecting the insurance funds by adhering to four basic principles, which are these:

First, ensure and stringently enforce adequate capital standards.

In last year's reform bill, the Financial Institutions Reform, Recovery and Enforcement Act (FIRREA), we went a long way toward taking the necessary action. We prevented insured institutions from operating without capital; we eliminated the idea that phony capital is a substitute for the real thing; and we firmly established the principle that capital should reflect the risk of the underlying assets—the greater the risk, the higher the capital.

But we need to do more.

Regulatory staffs must be sufficient and sufficiently trained, to enable more frequent determinations of institution strengths. Never again should there be institutions that are not regularly examined. Never again should there be any notion of substituting phony capital for the real thing, or of allowing institutions to operate without a safe level of capital.

Second, limit insurance coverage to the amount authorized by law.

I would consider actually reducing the $100,000 deposit coverage. That is not set on tablets of stone. I was here on this floor with less than 15 Members present when in less than 15 minutes the insurance amount of coverage was raised from $40,000 to $100,000, and with no discussion, no debate, no hearings at any time, at least not on the House side that I can recall. So what is the sanctity of that amount, even though, in my opinion, the other more fundamental reforms should be a matter of priority. The average account in this country is only about $8,700. The overwhelming majority of depositors would be fully protected with far less insurance coverage than the law currently provides. The great preponderant majority of depositors today, over 80-85 percent, do not even have over $10,000 in an insured institution. So where are all of these payouts going in the case of the failed ones? They are going to these giant disaggregated and rich depositors. The purpose of deposit insurance is not to totally protect all depositors-it is to protect small depositors who do not have the means to investigate the safety of a given investment.

clearly prescribed actions when an insured institution's capital is impaired. The greater the impairment, the more stringent the action, and the less discretion permitted, would be the general rule. All institutions, regardless of size, would be treated in a like way, whenever their capital is impaired.

Today, the comptroller acts to seize a bank when equity capital is gone—the place may not be totally broke by then, but clearly is unlikely to survive. The cost of resolving such a case is much less than the cost of allowing an institution to go through the floor and into the endless depths of failure.

The purpose of deposit insurance is not to totally protect all depositors-it is to protect small depositors who do not have the means to investigate the safety of a given investment.

I also propose preventing multiple insured accounts. It might be reasonable to allow each customer insurance on a personal account, a separate business account and a separate custodial account like an IRA. But today, it is possible to insure hundreds of thousands of dollars in differently styled accounts, all in a single institution; this is a distortion and abuse of the insurance system.

Third, require regulators to take strong, certain and prompt action when an institution begins to lose capital.

At the heart of the FSLIC disaster was the failure of Congress and regulators to take early and forceful action to close insolvent institutions. The use of regulatory accounting gimmicks, the hope that forbearance would allow time to heal all problems, and the idea that capital wasn't necessary, that we could, through legislative jiggerypokery and legislative legerdemain, make a risky institution safe and sound. All contributed to the growing depth and breadth of the scandal.

I propose that regulators follow

Jiggerypokery by Al Zimmerman

"Uh . . . send the bill to the little guy!"

Fourth, make holding companies responsible for losses incurred by their insured depository institutions.

In FIRREA, we made commonly controlled institutions liable for each other's losses. What this means is that where a number of insured institutions are commonly controlled, the controlling entity cannot allow one or more institutions to sink, and hold on to just the healthy ones. This has happened in Texas, my own state. In other words, they leave the government holding the bag. As it is, Uncle Sam ends up with all of the bad loans, all the junk, and you get an acquirer that has been bailed out through government subsidy, in effect, with no bad loans.

This is the worst of all worlds, because that entity is competing now with the last few surviving independent, nonsubsidized entities. How can they last? They did not in the case of the savings and loans.

In my city of San Antonio we have only one remaining savings and loan. But every one of those that went under would have thought I was and in fact did think I was a raving radical.

My proposal will be controversial. But I have learned that the more needed a reform is, the greater is the resistance; and I have learned that the greater the delay, the harsher the penalty. In the savings and loan catastrophe, we learned the cost of ignoring perilous situations. The reform I am offering will not be easy, but these are actions we must take. Delay will not make the task any easier, only harder and much more costly. Despite all distractions, despite all pleas to avoid these necessary actions, the reform I have outlined must be adopted. The only question is whether we will act before the storm clouds break.

Open Space for the 21st Century

by Michael Welter

According to the information recently released by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Thurston County's population has grown by over 29% in the last decade, Making it the third fastest growing county in the state.

Over the next decade, the population of Thurston County is expected to grow by upwards of 100,000 additional residents. Clearly, if county residents' quality of life in its urban and rural areas is to be preserved and maintained, local governments must be in a position to take dramatic action.

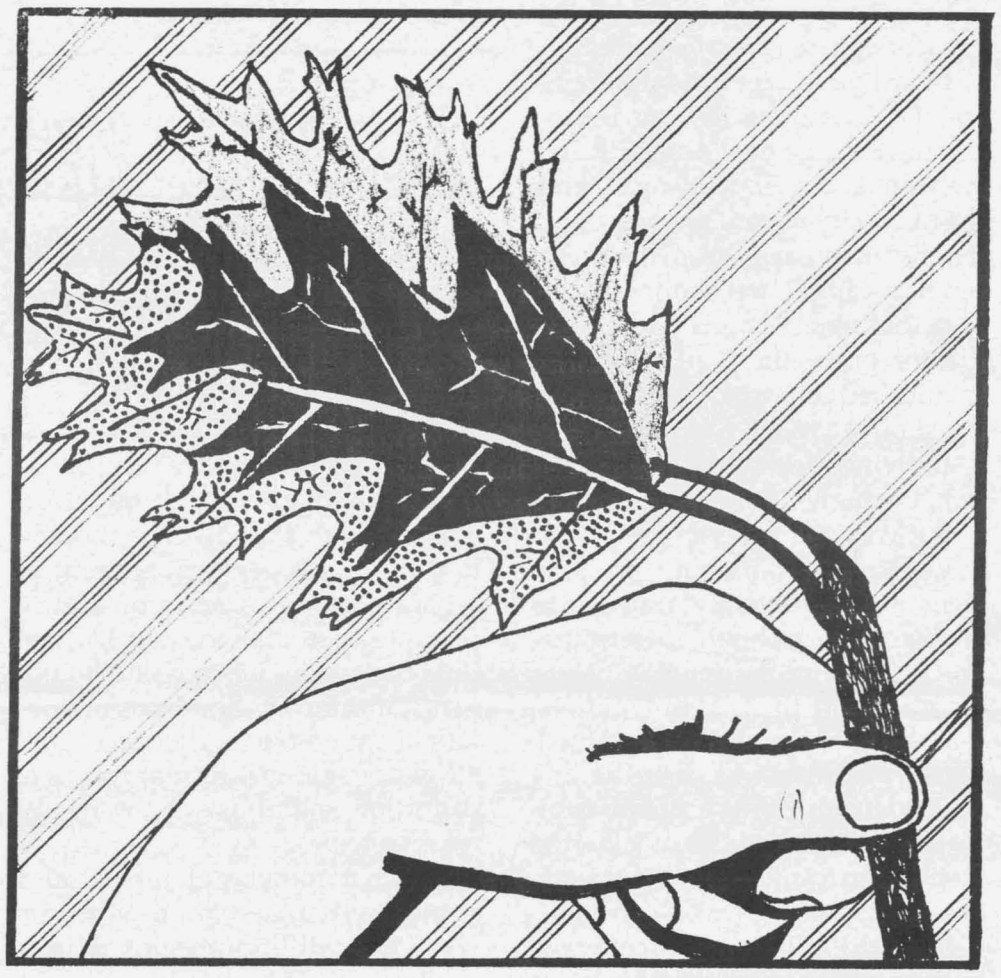
The urgency of this concern is further underscored by the startling increase in urban development. While the last two decades have seen the Puget Sound's population grow by 36%, the amount of its lands covered by urban development increased by over 87%. In Thurston County, residential development alone increased by 32% from 1988 to 1989, with 40% of this development taking place in the unincorporated county. Thurston County's natural open spaces and the availability of "free" recreational lands can no longer be taken for granted. Privately-owned green belts and urban separators are now vulnerable to development.

As an example, just since January 1, the Thurston County Parks and Recreation Department has been approached to purchase or become aware of thirty pieces of land that landowners had available as potential open space, conservation areas, or park sites. Most of these lands have included wetlands, streams or rivers, and/or access to lakes or the Puget Sound. Many have been sold for future developments--lost forever. Thurston County must act now to initiate an aggressive and sustained program of open space acquisition; one that is more forthright and permanent than zoning restrictions and other regulatory options.

While the last two decades have seen the Puget Sound's population grow by 36%, the amount of its lands covered by urban development increased by over 87%. In Thurston County, residential development alone increased by 32% from 1988 to 1989, with 40% of this development taking place in the unincorporated county.

The 1990 Washington State Legislature provided local governments an exceptional funding opportunity for open space acquisition and preservation with the passage of Senate Bill 6639. The legislation authorizes county governments, upon a simple majority affirmative vote of the people, to levy up to a 1% real estate excise tax on the sale of real estate with the revenue dedicated to preservation and maintenance of land and water with environmental, agricultural, aesthetic, cultural, historic, scenic or recreational value.

In Thurston County, if levied at the full 1%, a funding source of between $4 and $6 million would be available for land acquisition and preservation, annually. This funding would generate funds sufficient to create an unparalleled open space system that would enhance



Thurston County's regional landscape, green its cities with extensive park networks and buffers, and preserve its forests, farms, waterways, and scenic areas.

Since May of this year, the Board of Thurston County Commissioner and the Thurston County Parks and Recreation Board and the Parks and Recreation Department have been studying the 1% real estate excise levy authority as an option for funding park and open space preservation efforts in the county. In June, the Board of County Commissioners authorized the Parks Department to begin discussions with the cities to develop a regional open space acquisition plan based on the real estate levy revenues as a funding source.

After several meetings between the County and City Park Board, park developments, and administrators, a plan has been developed by the Thurston County Parks and Recreation Department which will directly reach and benefit all citizens in Thurston County. Because of the overwhelming significance of this open space acquisition funding program on Thurston County's quality of life, the plan is entitled: TREE - The Real Estate Environmental Endowment.

The TREE plan does not attempt to prescribe the specific lands which will be preserved. Rather, it sets forth a well articulated public process that will allow the participating government to respond to current and future open space, preservation and park needs. It creates a mechanism that directly enables the citizens of Thurston County to actively participate in the selection of the lands to be acquired. The plan will provide the citizens a certainty that their public funds will be used to create a public system of parks, trails, and natural lands that will become a lasting legacy for their children and grandchildren, and for generations to come.

In addition, several neighboring counties in the central Puget Sound basin, including King, Snohomish, Pierce, Island, San Juan and Jefferson, have placed this measure on the November ballot in conjunction with Thurston County. A multi-county approach to addressing the Puget Sound region's acute growth problems is an appropriate and exciting response and is the first truly regional response to a major growth-related issue.

On September 7, the Board of Thurston County Commissioners adopted the TREE Plan presented by the Parks Department, but at a levy rate of 3/4% rather than the full 1% rate authorized by SB 6639. At the same time, the board adopted a resolution to place the issue on the November 6 ballot, as Proposition 21, for a vote of the people. If passed by the voters, an estimate $3.75 million could be generated annually for the acquisition and maintenance of open space, parks, conservation, and other preservation lands throughout Thurston County.

A group of local citizens has formed as Thurston citizens for Open Space, Parks and Recreation, to support Proposition 21 and the implementation of the TREE Plan. For more information, call Doug Allen at 943-2657.

T.R.E.E. :
A SUMMARY

If Proposition 21 is approved by the voters in November, a 3/4% real estate excise levy is expected to generate approximately $3.75 million annually over the ten-year program period ending December 31,2001. Under the TREE Plan adopted by the Board of Thurston County Commissioners, the Real Estate Excise Levy revenues would be distributed throughout the county under the following six programs:

1) THE SAVING THE RURAL ENVIRONMENT PROGRAM

Under this program, funding is allocated directly to the County annually, based on the County's population located outside the urban incorporated and approved urban growth management areas. The County will dedicate a percentage of these funds to the Grand Mound-Rochester Parks and recreation District based on their proportionate share of the incorporated population, annually.

2) THE GREENING OF THE CITIES PROGRAM

The funds available in the Greening of the Cities Program will be allocated to each incorporated urban area based on that area's annual population. Specific acquisitions of natural and park lands will be developed and approved by each jurisdiction and its citizens based on its own adopted parks and open space plan and in conformance with the definitions of eligible lands and the selection criteria included in the TREE Plan.

3) THE STEWARDSHIP PROGRAM

Each jurisdiction, over the life of the program, will dedicate at least 5%, but not more than 20%, of the total TREE funds received to the creation of a perpetual maintenance endowment. Use of the funds is limited to lands on which TREE funds were used for acquisition. A non-supplanting restriction is included to prevent TREE funds form

(Continued next page.)

(Space, continued.)
being used to offset current maintenance programs.

4) THE REGIONAL ACQUISITION PROGRAM

On an annual basis, 20% of the total TREE funds available will be dedicated to a regional acquisition fund. The focus of this program is to encourage joint planning and coordinated efforts by all jurisdictions in addressing open space, conservation, and park area needs which are of significant regional value. The Board of Thurston County Commissioners will appoint citizen representatives from the cities and other parts of the county to the Thurston Regional Open Space Committee. This committee will review projects submitted by all the jurisdictions and make funding recommendations to the Board of County Commissioners. The Board of Commissioners will approve all projects.

5) THE URBAN GROWTH MANAGEMENT PROGRAM

The focus of this program is to provide a tool for the incorporated jurisdictions to address the open space, conservation, and park needs of the urban unincorporated areas adjacent to their jurisdictional boundaries and defined as future growth areas for each jurisdiction. TREE funds will be allocated to eligible jurisdictions based on the populations located in their defined urban growth management areas. The Board of County Commissioners will review and approve the list of projects submitted by the jurisdictions on an annual basis.

6) THE ADMINISTRATION PROGRAM

On an annual basis, Thurston County will receive up to 2% of the Total TREE funds available to cover the administrative costs associated with operating the TREE Program. The TREE Program also defines the administrative processes necessary to obtain TREE funds, the eligible lands, and a specific selection criteria for the lands to be acquired. Under the TREE program, lands can be acquired in fee simple or less than fee simple. TREE funds can be used to acquire development rights in lieu of outright purchase.

Michael Welter is Director of the Thurston County Parks and Recreation Department

The City/County Charter

Home Rule At Last

by Russ Fox

The City/County Charter gives the people of Thurston County, rather than the state legislature, the responsibility to determine how we govern ourselves in the future. Issues important to us--such as broader representation, increased access to government decision making, more aggressive low income housing initiatives, stronger environmental protection programs, planning that integrates public transportation needs with growth and land use decisions, empowerment of neighborhood organizations, initiative and referendum powers, and more--are addressed in the City/County Charter.

The 1990 Charter proposal doesn't include as many bold steps as some of us would have liked, but it initiates home rule and sets in motion new structures and processes of governance that give us more opportunities to address important community issues. For example:

* The Charter gives all of us, not just the residents of the City of Olympia, full powers of initiative and referendum regarding policies of the county, all cities and towns and the Port of Olympia.

* The Charter includes three ways that we can amend the charter to respond to future needs. These include initiative by the people and automatic Charter Review Commissions (like the Board of Freeholders) every ten years.

The Charter gives all of us, not just the residents of the City of Olympia, full powers of initiative and referendum regarding policies of the county, all cities and towns and the Port of Olympia.

* The Charter requires the county and each city to adopt neighborhood empowerment ordinances that assure early notification of developments and maximum opportunity to participate in planning that affects both the neighborhood and the region.

* The Charter gives county government the responsibility to involve all segments of the community in the development of a Regional Comprehensive Plan to define where and how our community grows in the future. The plan must address environmental and social/economic impacts of land use planning, and assure that transportation and utility services planning is coordinated with the other elements of the plan

* Environmental protection efforts are strengthened by giving the county clear authority and additional funding for water quality programs.

* Housing options and programs for low income families are strengthened by creating a housing department in county government and requiring the regional plan to address housing needs for all segments of the community.

* All cities and towns continue to perform traditional local government functions, but their plans and programs must be in conformance with the Regional Comprehensive Plan.

* Residents in unincorporated areas of the county are permitted, on their own initiative, to create community councils as a forum for local issues and, if they choose, with responsibility to develop and adopt local plans--which again must be in conformance with the regional plan.

Charter ideas proposed but not incorporated into this initial document, such as proportional representation as a mechanism of electing government officials, can be added through the charter amendment procedures or by the initiative powers we have if we adopt home rule governance. This City/County Charter--Thurston County Proposition 1--is our entry into home rule government for the 1990's and the next century.

The intensity of opposition surfacing from the status-quo power structure in the community should be an indication of the need for the changes the Charter provides. As one of your elected Freeholders who worked hard to create a document that many citizens could feel comfortable with as an entry into home rule, that incorporates some important changes in local governance to address growth, environmental protection and citizen representation issues important to our community, and that includes maximum opportunity for future modification, I encourage you to vote for the City/County Charter on November 6th.

Russ Fox is a Member of the Thurston County Board of Freeholders.

Guatemalen Human Rights Organizer to Visit

Miguel Sucuqui

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 5

Noon at The Evergreen Library Lobby

St. John's Episcopal Church at 7 pm
(20th & Capitol Way)

Miguel Sucuqui is Secretary of the Executive Board of the Runujel Junam Council of Economic Communities, abbreviated as CERJ. Runujel Junam means "All Are Equal" in the Quiche Indian language. The CERJ is a predominantly indigenous human rights organization based in the province of El Quiche, Guatemala.

Mr. Sucuqui will visit Olympia on Monday, November 5. He will be representing the CERJ as part of a Northwest tour to meet with Northamericans. He will speak in the Evergreen library lobby at noon and at Saint John's Episcopal Church (20th and Capitol Way) at 7:00 p.m.

Nine distinct Mayan Indian ethnic groups are represented in the CERJ, including Quiches, Cakchiquels, Mams, Pocomans, Kekchis, Pocomchis, Chortis, Ixils and Tzuthils.

Miguel Sucuqui is a Quiche Indian and speaks both Quiche and Spanish (his talks in Olympia will be translated from Spanish to English). He is 36 years old, Catholic, and is married with several children. As a Quiche Indian he brings a strong indigenous perspective to his human rights work. A farmworker by trade, he identifies strongly with the realities of other farmworkers in the highlands region of Guatemala, the area hardest hit by the military counterinsurgency programs. Mr. Sucuqui recently travelled to Costa Rica as a delegate of the CERJ to participate in a human rights conference and seminar. This is his first visit to the United States.

For more information about the tour or about upcoming Olympia events related to Guatemala, please contact Susan Manning at 956-0547 or Rob Haberman of the Guatemalan Solidarity Committee (GUASO) in Seattle at 781-9653.

Information for this article was provided by NISGUA, the National Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala. National office in Washington, D.C. (202)483-0050.

Works In Progress

Article Submission Deadline for the December issue:

Nov. 17th

Peace Rally

Olympians take to the Streets

by Ron Jacobs

Like the first tentative sprouts of spring forcing their way above the cold ground to reclaim the earth, a resurgent antiwar movement expressed its budding power on October 20. From Olympia to New York and from Panama City to Stockholm, people from all walks of life took to the streets in anger and frustration against the corporate war being forced upon them by the corporations' client governments. Because the U.S. government is at the forefront of this march towards war, the majority of the demonstrations took place in the United States. In New York City, over 10,000 people participated in a march and rally originating in Harlem. Thousands more marched in over a dozen other cities as well.

In Olympia approximately 250 people gathered in Sylvester Park in the warm October sun to listen to Timothy Hull and Casey Neil play guitars and sing songs — one of which was written in response to the war moves in the Persian Gulf region. After a welcome from OAIC member Susan Manning and some announcements, TESC faculty member Alan Nasser spoke, providing the crowd with a brief and concise history of superpower machinations in the Middle East and the relevances of those actions to the current crisis. Expressing doubt about U.S. forces' ability to retake and maintain possession of Kuwait, Nasser warned the crowd of the potential inconceivable bloodshed should the U. S. involve itself in a shooting war.

The next two speakers spoke about the necessity for people to understand the centrality of the Palestinian struggle in any arrangement for peace in the region. By sharing some of their experiences during the time they spent in the Occupied Territories, Jackie Wolf and Leila Hilal brought the human element of "politics as usual" home to the crowd.

Following the lead of a newly formed street theater group costumed in army fatigues and led by a woman whose face was transformed into a skull, the crowd moved into the streets of Olympia to the beat of a stick an empty oil drum. Heading south on Capitol Way, then east on 4th Avenue, the slowly growing march chanted slogans and carried signs calling for immediate withdrawal of all U. S. forces and weaponry from the Gulf region, negotiated settlements of all military occupations, including Kuwait, the Occupied Territories, Lebanon, and Panama, and spending for social justice, not corporate wars.

The festive nature of the march took a more serious tone as the participants reached the National Guard Armory on Eastside Street. With marchers crowded around the entrance, Hugh Moag — a former marine rigged out in full dress uniform — spoke briefly about his time in the military and the need to bring the troops home. Stating that no one's blood was worth cheap oil, Moag reminded the crowd that it was people like them who would die, not the generals and politicians.

Addressing those in the armory and military members of the crowd, Marty Zunz — a member of Vietnam Veterans Against the War/ Anti-Imperialist — talked about resistance inside the military. Citing the example of Jeff Patterson, a marine corporal currently facing court .martial for refusing to ship out, Marty reminded the protestors of the GI resistance movement in Vietnam and its role in ending the U. S. aggression in that country.

Glen Anderson, a draft counselor and member of the pacifist organization Fellowship of Reconciliation, ended the armory rally advising young men in the crowd about the draft and providing them with encouragement and information about resistance. As we headed back into the streets, a soldier locked inside the armory by his commanding officer flashed a peace sign through the window.

After returning to Sylvester Park, Rich Wood from Seattle spoke about the importance of the day's protests and the need to work hard and build a movement for social justice and against corporate war. Acknowledging the enormity of the task, he reminded the crowd of the early days of the movement against the Vietnam war. After all, it was twenty-five years almost to the day (Oct. 13-16, 1965) that the first nationwide anti-Vietnam war actions took place with 100,000 people participating nationwide. Finally, as a reminder that it's not just the governments and their corporate cohorts which need to change, Mira Brown of Bikes not Bombs called on us all to push for alternative forms of energy, drive as little as possible, and build our own non-destructive energy supplies.

With the music of Timothy and Casey filtering through the noise of downtown Olympia, the crowd thinned, resolving to nurture the movement begun that day.

If you want to help with time, money, or something else or you just want to get some information and talk, please call the Olympia Anti-Intervention Coalition at 866-9231 or 956-0789.

Olympia Anti-Intervention Coalition meetings are tentatively scheduled for every other Wednesday. For confirmation and/or place, call one of the above numbers.

If you want counseling about military service or are concerned about the draft, please give Glen Anderson a call at 491-9093.

Ron Jacobs is a member of C.A.A.C. and the Olympia Anti-Intervention Coalition.

As we headed back into the streets, a soldier locked inside the armory by his commanding officer flashed a peace sign through the window.

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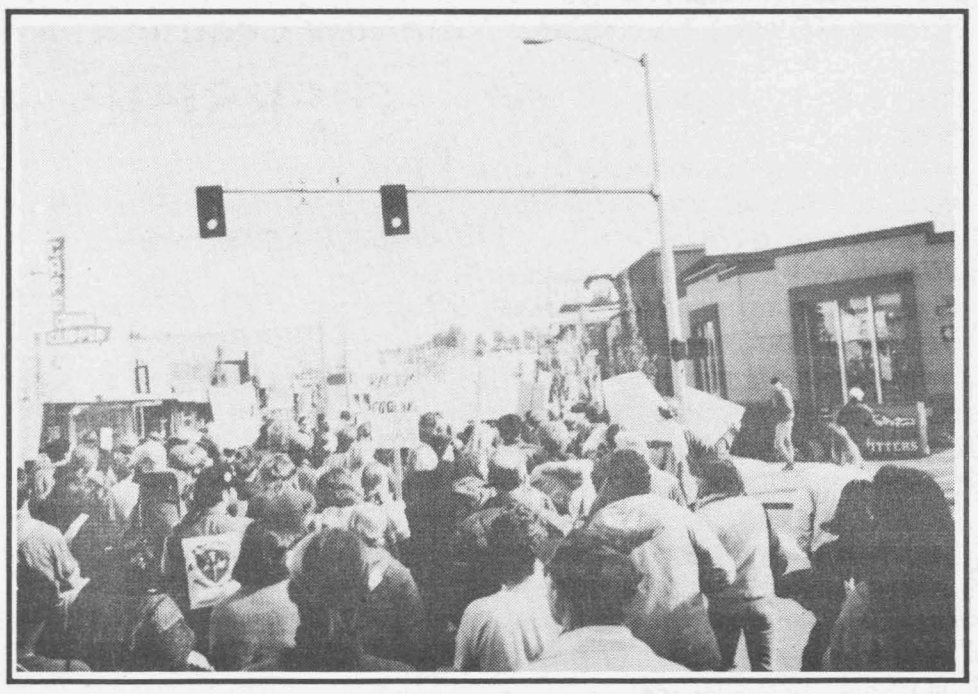

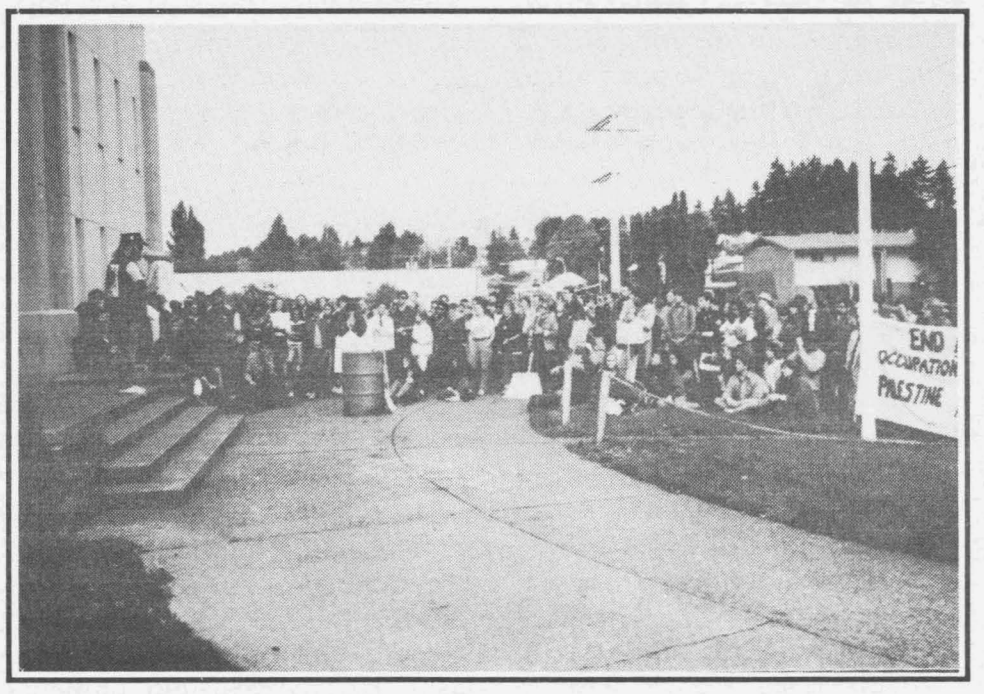

Siege War Against Iraq

Understanding the suffering in the commitment we have made.

by Helena Meyer-Knapp

"Gulf conflict," "crisis," "confrontation in the Gulf," "Sitzkrieg," "the embargo," "events since the invasion of Kuwait;" this collection of catch phrases gives us little clue about the particular obligations we have undertaken in Iraq, in the Persian Gulf and in Saudi Arabia, in the last two months. Unless we use an image of these events that vividly evokes the actual nature of the military deployments and embargo strategies now entrenched, we will dangerously under-estimate the seriousness of the commitments US policy will ask of each of us here, and the suffering this policy will cause.

"Siege War" evokes with particular resonance both the Iraqi deployments and maneuvers and those of the opposing forces. Iraqi rationing of supplies, their frontier trenches, the dramatic claims about long term endurance, and the carefully engineered departure of foreign nationals are classic strategies of a fortress nation at the onset of a siege. The tightening embargo enforced by ships (soon to be spread to the air), the ground troops whose mission is to await the weakening of Iraqi morale, and the effort to develop rigid frontier barriers in all surrounding nations are manifestly the strategies of a besieging force.

The last great siege like this was the siege of Leningrad. It began in 1941, lasted 500 days and ended finally after horrendous suffering on both sides and many futile attempts by the Nazis to break down the will to resist.

What is happening now is not a marginally sterner version of the sanctions imposed on South Africa. The last great siege like this was the siege of Leningrad. It began in 1941, lasted 500 days and ended finally after horrendous suffering on both sides and many futile attempts by the Nazis to break down the will to resist. That we have embarked on such a strategy with respect to Iraq means we too must dig in for a long and difficult process, one for which there is not, thus far, deeply rooted popular support.

Fortress Iraq demonstrates with an unmistakable presence, like that of a stone fortress, that any attempt to break in will be dreadfully costly to the attackers. Tanks and 400,000 men dug in along the frontiers, chemical weapons poised and hostages at strategic sites make an attack from the outside as terribly hazardous as any attack on fortress walls manned with a full garrison. Meanwhile inside the walls food supplies are rationed and given first to the troops on whose strength the intact survival of fortress Iraq depends.

On the outside the besiegers too have adopted classic postures. Troops keep a vigilant eye on the entire frontier and their mission is not to shoot but to completely control entry into Iraq and to out-wait Iraqi endurance. Alliances have been arranged with a startling mixture of nations each of which is vital to the complete physical encirclement of the fortress. The embargo is attempting to cut off the flow of *all* trade in and out of Iraq, and is being enforced militarily. Having imposed sanctions many times recently we can be forgiven for not recognizing that this kind of embargo is an act of war but that is what it is, just as the Battle of the Atlantic in World War II was the Nazi attempt to embargo fortress Britain.

Ironically, both sides have the same two military objectives — namely to make sure the fortress walls do not spring too many of the wrong kind of cracks, and to build up the endurance to outlast the other side. Iraq's success in surviving rationing and maintaining the vigilance to prevent surprise attack depends on keeping "walls" intact and government control unquestioned. Food supplies from the UN (coming in with the permission of the besieger) represent not humanitarian aid but a break in the structure of the fortress. What is more, sending Western women and children home and housing their husbands and fathers at strategic sites scatters thousands of voices among the besiegers who will be constant reminders of the dreadful cost of perseverance one finds almost only in war.

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Anger at breadlines fades if the reason is survival as a nation.

Wars once begun normally drag on until four conditions have been met: 1) that the combatant nations actually experience or begin to dread too much of the profound pain that is war, 2) that the relative military balance has no foreseeable reason to change, 3) that the prospects for negotiating acceptable postwar settlements are moderately good and 4) that among the governing elites there are people ready to be seen as "defeatists," who can take over power from those prosecuting the war.

The international forces besieging Iraq face related challenges. One is developing the patience to keep troops deployed indefinitely under really difficult conditions in the absence of regular, tangible results. Calls to go home are already being heard from the troops in the desert, while the scale of the deployment means that, at home, many of us are personally connected to a reservist or person at risk. Even the domestic economic effects are already becoming apparent. The besiegers too have to keep cracks from developing in the walls, and policies being established in Jordan and in Iran will make that a major challenge.

Seeing this war as siege raises some specific questions about strategy in the coming months. Can Iraq develop enough international trade routes to survive the embargo for many years? Can the besieging nations really tolerate perpetrating the suffering engendered by a truly successful siege — namely starvation among the old and young and the spread of epidemic disease? Can the besieging generals resist the popular pressure to act, which in the near term would lead to an attack on forces well equipped to hold on and willing to return enormous damage?

If prosecuting this war has some hard issues associated with it, bringing it to an end raises issues that are equally hard. Since siege is war, it taps into the depth of resistance and assault.

"Defeatists" are important because the specific date on which a war ends is selected not by the victorious but by the loser (or by the side willing to declare a stalemate). Of the four conditions pain must very often come first. Without pain there is no *need* to end. The pain can be ours — like the body bags from Vietnam, or the fracturing of the national will over the draft — but it can be the pain we discover that we are inflicting — the napalm on the naked girl, the dreadful suffering of Iraqi children dying of starvation. Iraq too will probably find, from inside its own culture and values, that some kinds of pain are intolerable (as there will be pain that is not).

Naming the war with Iraq a siege is not necessarily to call US policy into question. It is hard to imagine any "sensible" response that could have been developed in the crisis atmosphere after the invasion of Kuwait. Calling this a "siege", then is not a judgment of the policy. Rather it serves to remind us that before this war can end it must, very likely, get worse. Siege is, after all, the original form of total war.

Helena Meyer-Knapp, besides teaching at Evergreen, is a long time peace activist and author of "Nuclear Siege to Nuclear Ceasefire".

BLUE HERON BAKERY
Featuring: Whole Grain Breads
Sweets, Granola, & Tamari Nuts

Thurston County Rainbow Coalition

GENERAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING

Saturday, November 17th

12:30 - 2:30 pm

First Christian Church
Seventh and Franklin, Olympia

Following the TCRC General Membership Meeting will be the

Washington State Rainbow Coalition
Issues Committee Meeting
3:00 - 5:00 pm

(DNR Construction, Continued.)
to suit its needs, not the needs of the workers. Though some employees are happy to move around (usually singles with no immediate family responsibilities) others that would rather stay close to home, family, and community, are under pressure to display company loyalty or face possible unemployment if they do not choose to travel to job sites in far flung parts of the country. The company reasoning generally given is that "we have the work and people need to have a job". HP knows it has all the power, and so do the workers. Even though there is work in the home region of the worker and a qualified number of local construction workers are available in the new area, to maintain control, Hensel Phelps prefers to send its "loyal" and proven compliant workforce into a new area. This way the company has an even larger "upper hand" in controlling its workforce because they are not only reliant on employment, but they are in a new area which is unfamiliar to them. Another advantage for HP to move its workforce around is that these "neo-boomers" will probably not be familiar with local and state laws governing the workplace and won't know the ways to seek help in these areas, if they were so inclined. Finally, a strong tendency to identify with the employer and to cling together as a unit apart from the "locals", earmarks this type of workforce. Most of these workers will eventually move on to other job sites in other parts of the country for HP.

To the detriment of society, this continual migration at the company's whims, creates a rootless family structure and strengthens the idea of the individual over the community. To the detriment of the worker and family (if the family is even relocated with the worker), they can't fully integrate into the local society. This loss of community identification for the HP construction worker and family and its added impacts on our society as a whole, is too great an issue to address in this article, but one that is important.

Unions and Hensel Phelps:

Of course it goes without saying that the HP workers are "union-free". Why should Hensel Phelps want its workers to get involved with organizations based on worker democracy and power? The union could provide avenues for its workers to receive local community connections, and a union "family" to help them in a new area. If a worker for HP wants to join the union he/she has two options: join the carpenters union (if in that trade), quit working for Hensel Phelps (the company has stated that they will sign no labor agreements) and look for a job with a union contractor; or help organize the HP workers so it will be union. The risks of the latter are big, even though organizing is a legally protected activity. HP will try to keep the building trades unions out. It is their corporate policy.

Unions do not fit into the company's employee control strategies, though it certainly would help in integrating a worker and family into a new community. That's how traditional boomers and their families survived in a new area. Through the community family of the local union.

HP sees itself as an employer that does NOT have labor agreements for greater power and control over their workforce. It can use workers competing against each other for a job, and the fear of losing a job, to further its profit and power goals

Other effects of Hensel Phelp's policies toward its workforce in this area are:

* Employees installing metal studs and drywall at a project in Tukwila, run by Pickens-Bond Company (a Hensel Phelps subsidiary, with payroll coming from the Denver corporate offices), were told the company couldn't pay overtime. These tradespeople were worked up to 60 hours a week, and have now filed wage claims against Pickens-Bond for wages owed them for overtime. It is the law in this state that hours worked over 40 per week must be paid at 1 1/2 times the regular rate. These workers were also primarily from out of state. Many were promised continued work up here as well, but have been left hanging in the breeze as the project winds down.

* Hensel Phelps has bought the services of Joe Davis, noted union-busting attorney in the Puget Sound area. The company is prepared to spend big bucks to keep workers from organizing and to keep unions out.

* The Hensel Phelps trades workers at the Natural Resources Building job site do not have a heated shelter in which to eat their lunch and dry out. They have to get ready for work and eat lunch whereever they can find a dry spot on the site. I'm sure that the ability to congregate together as a group to socialize and discuss topics of importance, which a lunch room would facilitate, has not been lost on Hensel Phelps management. Keeping workers apart is part of their strategy, I'm sure.Project Superintendent Mike Melendez sees nothing wrong with workers finding their own place to eat. I'm sure he eats his lunch in a warm, dry trailer. A company that treats its tools better than its workers (there is a trailer on site for tool storage) is an unfit recipient for our tax dollars.

* Hensel Phelps in Olympia repeatedly asks construction work applicants, "Are you union?" Many times the field superintendent, Wynn Olson, has said, "We don't want anyone around here even thinking about union" on the Hensel Phelps job site. These kinds of statements are ripe fields for unfair labor practice charges.

* There is no apprenticeship program in existence for Hensel Phelps workers. Apparently the company doesn't want to take part in training for the future of the community. Something responsible, union contractors do in all the communities they work. Does our "education" governor know this?

Community and Hensel Phelps:

How does the local community feel about Hensel Phelps as the general contractor on such a large project ($73 million/ two years in length)? Downtown business owners wonder why a local or in-state firm didn't get the job. They are upset with the state for what they see as a draining of tax dollars out of state through the profits of the job. This unknown employer doesn't know who the local shop owners are or their families. HP has no community oriented incentives to trade with the locals except when necessary. Granted, employees of this firm have bought a few houses or rented places to live, they buy groceries, and spend some money in the local area. Many local merchants, particularly those that are construction suppliers, would be surprised to find out that HP buys only what it immediately needs for the local building project, and then ships in the bulk of the material and equipment it needs from its out of state suppliers. Though this is not illegal, it certainly doesn't promote good community relations.

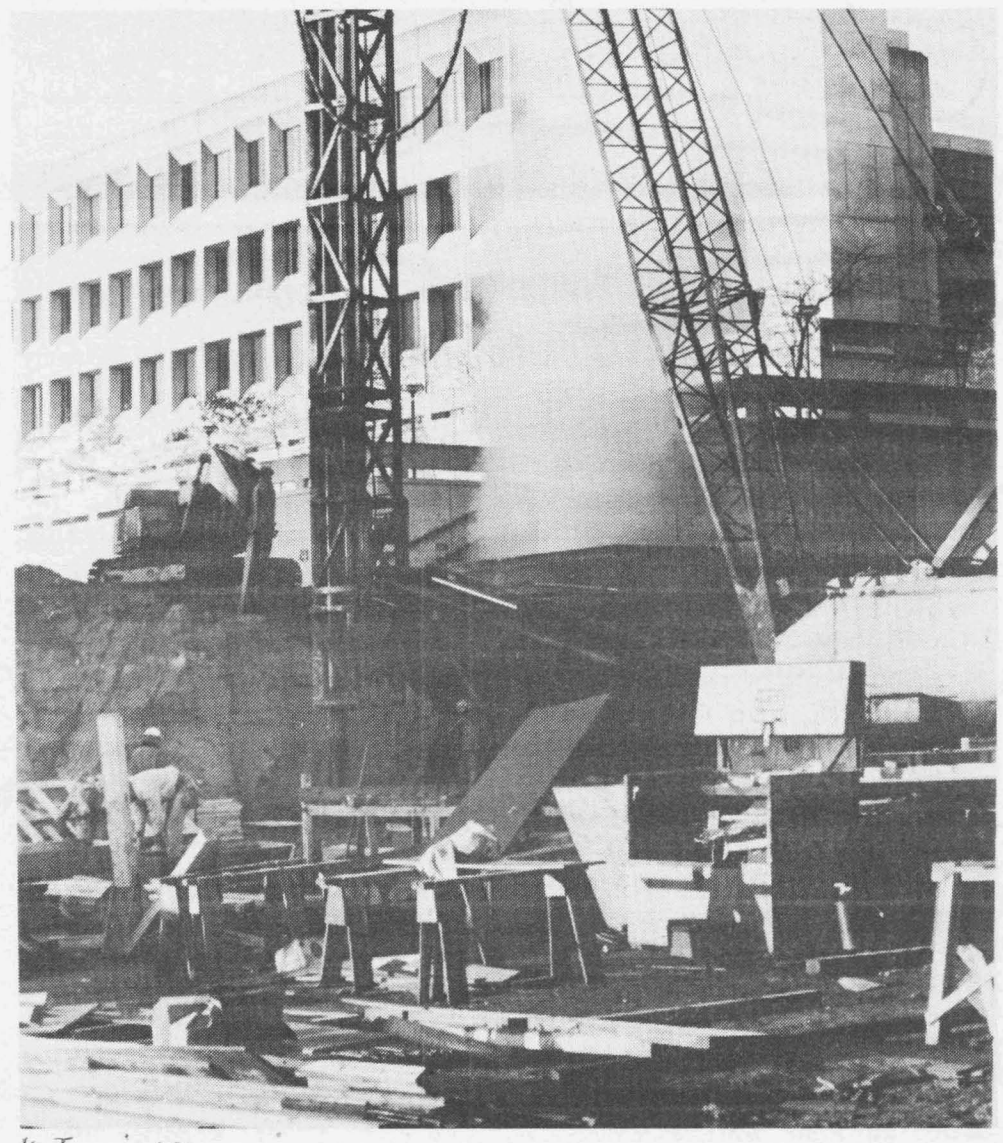
Local building trades men and women have been practically shut out of this job site. Over 90% of the Hensel Phelps' craft employees have come from out of state. New Jersey, Texas, Colorado, and California are where most of these workers originate at the job site in Olympia. It is not the fault of these workers, they are doing what they are told or "requested" to do when asked to work out of state.

Economically, many of these workers will be sending the tax

(Continued next page.)

. . . to maintain control, Hensel Phelps prefers to send its "loyal" and proven compliant workforce into a new area. This way the company has an even larger "upper hand" in controlling its workforce because they are not only reliant on employment, but they are in a new area which is unfamiliar to them.

The Hensel Phelps trades workers at the Natural Resources Building job site do not have a heated shelter in which to eat their lunch and dry out. . . A company that treats its tools better than its workers (there is a trailer on site for tool storage) is an unfit recipient for our tax dollars.



K Jennings

Olympia School's Non-Discrimination Statement

Excuse Me , You Missed One !

Curt Pavola, an Olympian resident, recently corresponded with the Olympia School District's Affirmative Action Officer concerning the exclusion of Gays and Lesbians in the district's non-discrimination statement. He submitted these three lettersto WIP to share with you.

(1) No Sexual Minorities?

Dear Mr. Warren,

I'm glad the Olympia School District bond levy was approved by voters. Even though I don't currently have children, I supported the measure, as I always do.

After doing my civic duty to support quality education for growing citizens, I was upset, however, by the non-discrimination language in your latest Design for the Future newsletter. Why no mention of affectional/sexual minorities?

I know current and former teachers who serve(d) the community well but cannot publicly be themselves because the school district won't protect them from the bigotry and abuse of a small, but voluble, group of constituents (in need of education themselves). Without protection, these teachers can't serve as positive role models for our sexual minority youth, who struggle through their school years with only grotesque media stereotypes as visible affirmation of their natural difference. It's no wonder that a federal government study recently found that approximately 30 percent of youth suicides are sexual minorities, even though gays, lesbians, and bisexuals comprise 10-15 percent of the population.

What is the process to amend your anti-discrimination code to include love orientation? What kind of support groups does the school district provide for gay and lesbian youth? We need to remove the fear and tension from our schools and society regarding this aspect of nature.

Sincerely yours,
Curt Pavola

(2) Everything's Fine

Dear Mr. Pavola:

Thank you for your recent letter and for your interest in and support of education in the Olympia School District.

In reading you letter you asked about the District's non-discrimination statement in the Design for the Future. The Olympia School District has long been committed to affirmative action in employment and to non-discrimination in all aspects of the District's educational program. The statement as it appears in the Design for the Future, is in line with the most recent federal and state statutes as related to affirmative action.

In your letter you also asked about what kind of support the school district provided for gay and lesbian youth. Counselors and other educational staff in District middle and high school buildings work closely with individual students and students in shall group settings to be responsive to both felt and expressed needs. Staff also work with and in many cases initiate contact with parents related to a wide variety of issues important to both students and parents. It is our feeling that such an approach provides support and an environment in which individual differences can be expressed and acknowledged and where young persons can learn to value their own and others' uniqueness.

Thank you again for your interest in the Olympia School District.

Sincerely yours
Tom Warren

(3) More Must Be Done

Dear Mr. Warren,

Your response to my letter of September 23 was inadequate. It also was politically safe. I am not, however, interested in the reactionary political survival instincts of the Olympia School District. I'm interested in providing for full civil rights guarantees for all students and teachers in this public (read "supported by my tax dollars") body, and in providing clear-eyed, truthful information about nature. Creating a truly nurturant, instead of institutionally homophobic, atmosphere would be icing on the cake.

In response to my inquiry as to why the District's non-discrimination language does not contain affection/sexual orientation, you reference state and federal affirmative action statutes. So what!? Because those governmental bodies haven't mustered the moral courage to challenge ignorance and abuse concerning this one aspect of human nature, does the Olympia School District have to wallow in accepted intolerance? Is the District waiting for approval from higher up to do the right thing? This at the continuing cost of tormented lives for some students and teachers.

From your response to my inquiry about support groups for gay and lesbian youth, I gather that the District responds only to individual problems as they arise. However, a more vague and non-committal paragraph no presidential candidate could have constructed. Congratulations.

Do you seriously believe that deep societal misunderstanding about, and resultant fear and abuse of, sexual minority youth and teachers should be addressed only when a visible crisis erupts? Do the following serious abuses not matter to you and the District? Low self-worth brought on by broadly accepted condemnation, stereotyping, and hostility Repression of feelings—of true self—and cultivation of a false life. Unaddressed youthful questions about one's differentness and resulting isolation from peers and family. Unhealthy (and sometimes abusive) sexual activities arising from denial and repression of nature's most fundamental feelings and drives. Low achievement and burnout for students and teachers alike because of the tremendous energy expended to survive in a hostile atmosphere. The graduation of an endless stream of young citizens ignorant of human sexuality—their own and that of others.

More can and should be done. More is being done in other school districts, as indicated in the articles I've enclosed.

Tom, I don't seek a response from you to this letter. My intent is to register clearly and loudly my disgust with the Olympia School District's official blindness to the needs of a large segment of the community. Be assured, though that you will see and hear a lot of me when I have a child in my community's school system. My children will not be taught to put up with an abusive atmosphere simply because it's difficult to change it.

I'm sharing this letter with others because there's much work to be done by many people in helping our community grow up regarding this aspect of nature. I look forward to being helpful in any capacity.

Sincerely yours,
Curt Pavola

(DNR Construction, cont.)

dollars in their paychecks home to their families. Profits from the job will go to corporate headquarters in Colorado. The recycling of tax dollars in the state economy and the economic benefits that it brings will not occur on the same scale as when an in-state firm and its local workforce does the job.

What else has the community seen from this construction giant? They seem to be invisible as far as community participation is concerned. Their workforce is also invisible, except on the job site. The main contact points with our area are with the public agencies overseeing the project, the small business done with local merchants, and the individual activities of its workers in their leisure time.

Conclusions:

Some big questions have been generated by the presence of Hensel Phelps in the community. It goes without saying that the public agency responsible for the construction of the Natural Resources building project did not weigh into account, when selection of a contractor was occuring, the impacts that have been mentioned above. How does a local community make its public "servants" more responsive to what the real needs of a community are? Is there a willingness on the part of these public servants to look beyond the "bottom-line" of costs and schedules and see how their actions can really benefit a community?

What about the local community? Is it aware of what Hensel Phelps really represents? A company that wants to undermine workers also undermines the communities those workers live in. How does it organize itself to support the workers in the community? Does the community recognize the role of trade unions in their midst as organizations of local folks who participate in the community on many levels: not only helping the area economically through good union wages and the taxes they provide; but by promoting democracy and social improvements. We're neighbors that share the same hopes and dreams of the community.

How should the local trade unions respond to Hensel Phelps and its workers? They should open their arms to these workers and help them in any way that they can. Though anti-union attitudes abound on this job, it is mostly the rhetoric of frightened workers who cannot say otherwise. Many have said in private, "This should have been a union job". The general feeling of the workers is one of powerlessness. "The company has the work, so I'll do what they say 'cause I need a job". As an union organizer it is my wish to help these workers see the power they truly have on this job as a group. As individuals, they will continue to be powerless against HP and the fear of losing a job will keep them separated, not united. Union workers and building trades unions need to see Hensel Phelps as they truly are: the vanguard of the open shop movement in this area, bent on destroying unions. By following this path, they are also going to destroy communities as well.

Mark Bean is an organizer for the Carpenters Union.

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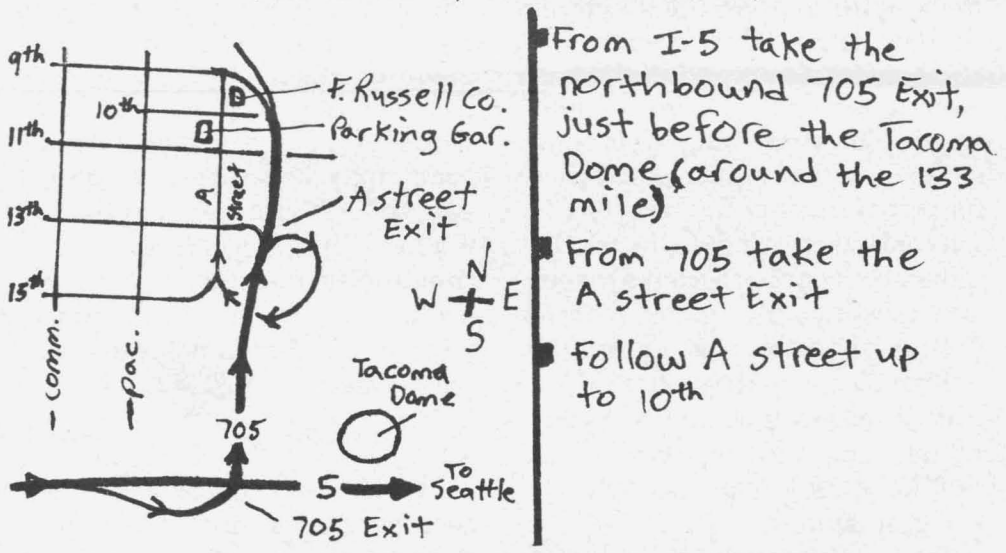
Works In Progress, c/o TCRC, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507

State Investment Board Meeting

Tues. ~~Monday~~, November ~~12th~~ 13TH

9:00 a.m.

Frank Russell World Headquarters
(909 "A" Street, Downtown Tacoma)



From I-5 take the northbound 705 Exit, just before the Tacoma Dome (around the 133 mile)

From 705 take the A street Exit

Follow A street up to 10th

TO THE
COMMANDER OF THE FIRST MARINE EXPEDITIONARY BRIGADE

KANEOHE MARINE CORP AIR STATION,
KANEOHE BAY HAWAII, 96863-5501,
(808) 257-2511

We support Jeff Paterson, the active duty Marine who refused deployment to the Middle East. We support his position that "he cannot and will not be a pawn in America's power plays for profits and oil in the Middle East." We oppose any restrictions placed on Jeff's abilities to express his ideas to the public and to the media and to effectively build his defense. We demand that he be granted conscientious objector status and freedom.

Name:_____

Address:_____

Telephone No:_____

Organizational Affiliations:_____

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515

July 31, 1989

Dear Friends:

In response to the tragic schoolyard shooting in Stockton, California, by a deranged man with an AK-47, politicians rushed forward with proposals aimed at banning assault rifles. While the shooting highlighted the problem of a rapid-fire weapon in the hands of a known mental patient, it would be a mistake to hastily enact measures which are overly broad and ill-defined.

I want you to know that I will oppose any legislation which abridges or interferes with the rights of law abiding gun owners and sportsmen.

There are several bills before Congress (including H.R. 669, H.R. 1190 and H.R. 1154) that would limit the availability of assault weapons. While I recognize public concern over imports such as AK-47s and Uzis, I am concerned that some other attempts to restrict access to assault rifles could jeopardize the sale or use of legitimate sporting firearms. For example, some proposals would restrict semi-automatic guns that might be modified to accept more than a specific number of rounds. This could be interpreted to apply to popular semi-automatic shotguns used for bird hunting.

Although hearings are being held on these bills in the House and the Senate, it is too early to tell just what the outcome will be. I would hope that questions will be raised and we would attack those policies that have put the criminally insane back on our streets rather than attacking the Second Amendment.

Sincerely,
Jolene Unsoeld
Member of Congress

What We Didn't Hear About Panama

There is a world of news that never reaches people through the mainstream media. What follows are excerpts from news articles taken from the Central American Conferences of PeaceNet, a computer network with international links. This material paints a radically different picture than the "we're glad you invaded" drivel we are normally fed.

Panamian Demostrations

For three consecutive days, from Aug 20 through Aug 22, high school and university students organized street demonstrations in Panama City. The students' chant, "Es lo mismo, pero peor" ("It's the same, but worse.) was directed at the government of President Guillermo Endara, installed at the time of the US military invasion last December.

Tuesday aftermoon fifty young people were reportedly injured in clashes with anti-riot police who used tear gas and clubs to disperse the protesters.

On Wednesday, traffic along major thoroughfares was tied up for hours. Demonstrators had set up roadblocks using stones, old tires, lumber, boxes, glass and other assorted trash. Students from Panama City's major art school, the Universidad de Panama, the National Institute and at least a dozen other high schools threw rocks at police.

Panamanian Commission Wants US to Go Home

In a report addressed to President Guillermo Endara and released to the press on Aug 20, the National Reconciliation Commission called for the end of US military occupation of Panamanian territory. The 13-member Commission was appointed by the government, and is headed by Archbishop Marcos McGrath. Members include Bishop Jorge Altafulla, Catholic Priests Pablo Varela and Nestor Jaen, Lutheran Minister Ernesto Weigandt and four representatives each of pro-government and opposition political parties.

The commission also requested an investigation of the "real numbers" of Panamanians killed during the US invasion in December, and asserted that the US government must provide economic compensation for damages caused by the invasion and economic sanctions imposed against the regime of Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega.

The report also called on the Endara government to "depoliticize appointments and avoid the policy of unjustified dismissals." Since the US invasion, about 18,000 public employees have been fired, accused of supporting the deposed general. The Commission also insisted that Panama must regain its national sovereignty.

Reprinted from Vietnam Vets Against the War.